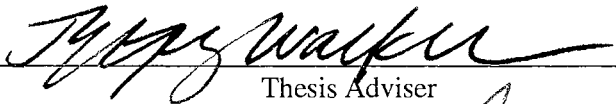
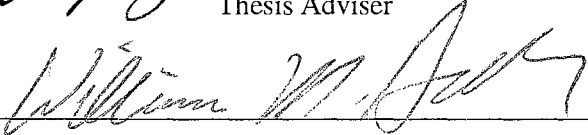
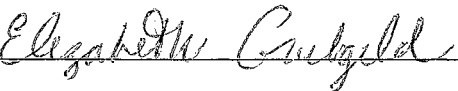


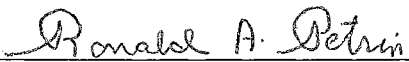
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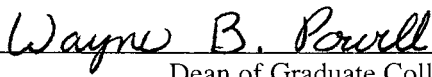
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Thesis Adviser








Dean of Graduate College

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am a big reader of book acknowledgments. Before delving into any book, I enjoy reading to whom the author attributes her success; doing so, I perhaps naively believe, gives me especial insight into the author's life, into what she privileges, into what people comprise the author's orbit. I once read an acknowledgment in which the author deigned to thank no one, as he asserted that he had done all the work himself. From then on, I found his ideas distasteful. Not even the greatest writers can compose in a vacuum. Certainly I cannot, and have not. Thus, I have many people I would like to thank for their tremendous contributions to my life as a scholar, and so to my life in this project.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

For a few, the journey would be unpleasant from the start. While others celebrated their departure with cheers and with drink, some stood quietly by, unaccustomed to alcohol or to a soldier's huzzahs. While one man proudly shook his son's hand, knowing full well the weight of his child's mission, another man bid a tearful farewell to his son, well knowing the weight of his child's burden. Most men wore their Sunday best, certain of the moment's import--a moment to be welcomed, or to be feared. And then the train arrived, filled already with boisterous young men. A sign tacked to the train's side bore the message "Berlin or Bust." With the train, the journey: to France and the war, or to forced confinement in United States military barracks.

Mennonite conscientious objectors writing about their experiences in World War I many times recount this initial step in their long sojourn, the instant they ventured from their small ethnic communities into an unfamiliar world. John Hege begins his diary by narrating his train ride to Camp Meade, Maryland, from Hagerstown; stunned by the soldiers' profanity and drunkenness, Hege longs for the comfort of "Brethren." Ura Hostetler admits in his diary that leaving for military camp is "the hardest thing" he has ever "been forced to do." So great is his sorrow, he would rather his young wife "go to her grave" than leave her "by herself in this cold and cruel world" (207). While other American men celebrated their induction into the military, their opportunity to see the world and to fight for their country, most Mennonite men viewed their conscription far less favourably: as a governmental decree separating them from home and family, as a test of their faith in God.

Clinging to the biblical conviction that they should "Resist not evil" (Matthew 5:38), most Mennonite men refused all participation in military service during the Great War. To be sure, they would not fight on Europe's battlefields, where they felt sure men shouldered weapons of "carnal" destruction intent on resisting, even abolishing, the evil Hun. Nor would the

Mennonites drill with arms or wear uniforms in the military camps that held them; many would not accept noncombatant work, arguing that doing so would mean abetting war, something they felt the Bible condemned. Their biblical objection to war, their belief in nonconformity, and their upbringing in insular Mennonite communities only separated Mennonite conscientious objectors further from the First World War American culture, which supported war and conformity under the banner of one hundred percent Americanism. For the Mennonite objectors, being drafted into the military precipitated isolation from their home communities and painful alienation from the culture they had been compelled to enter.

But enter they did. According to some estimates, nearly 2,000 American Mennonite conscientious objectors left their homes for military camps between September, 1917, when troop trains began carrying American men to war, and November 1918, when the bloodshed officially ended.¹ Americans had little tolerance for the Mennonites' historic pacifist stance, nor did (the Mennonites began to believe) their country's leader. President Woodrow Wilson, in his April 1917 address, suggested to his countrymen that, should the United States wish to make the world safe for democracy, every able-bodied American man needed to take up arms against the oppressor Germany; on May 13, 1917, Congress passed the Selective Service Act, making conscription the law of the land (*Source Records*). Emboldened by a pervasive and fervent nativism, most citizens supported the American will to war en masse, and those against fighting were considered by many to be slackers and alien spies, worthy of the gallows and the rack. Because Mennonite conscientious objectors found themselves at the center of this maelstrom, the war and conscription would change Mennonites' lives irrevocably, a crisis of conscience forever transforming the Mennonite Church and its young men.

To military cantonments and camps these Mennonite young men went, where they faced ridicule, abuse, and sometimes imprisonment because they could not conscientiously wear a soldier's uniform and bear arms. Their diaries recount this troubling experience as forced

¹ Mennonites made up less than ten percent of the 21,000 American conscripts who assumed conscientious objector status during the First World war for religious, ethnic, and political reasons.

members of Uncle Sam's army, narrating the daily trials of men ill at ease in a country agitated by war. The men's writing reflects well the clash of two cultures embracing conflicting principles: the principle of war's just necessity in Europe, held by a majority of Americans; and the principle of pacifism as the only righteous response to a perceived evil, held by Mennonites and by other religious nonresisters. Few of these diaries written by Mennonite conscientious objectors have seen publication. Tucked away in Mennonite archives and private collections across the United States, the diaries join a formidable mass of autobiographical and oral narratives by Mennonite conscientious objectors, all which suggest the men's desire to tell their stories, to bear witness to their trials as conscientious objectors and to God's presence as "a very present help in time of trouble" (Hege 2).

This edition brings the light of publication to several of these diaries, granting the men a public audience for their testimonies about conscription and conscience and an unwavering faith in God. Included in this edition is the diary of Gustav Gaeddert, a teacher who assumed a leadership position among objectors in his camp; the text of Ura Hostetler, a young farmer sent to military camp and so separated from his new wife; the writing of a Harvard-educated Amish Mennonite, Jacob C. Meyer, whose advanced degrees made him an anomaly amidst Mennonites, though his nonresistant beliefs afforded him the same fate as his brethren; and the serial narrative of John Neufeld, a Mennonite objector sent to Fort Leavenworth prison for his unwillingness to drill with arms. These texts provide important historical insight into America's cultural climate during the Great War, exposing the country's rabid war hysteria, a hysteria that in turn bred intolerance and, in its extreme, mob violence. The conscientious objectors' experiences thus reflect the seeming deprivation of religious liberty in a country presumably founded on, among other things, the liberty of religious conviction. The diaries included here also highlight significant aspects of Mennonite life during the Great War, a life both at the cusp of transformation and at odds with American society. The importance of community and a faith in God, as well as the depth of nonresistant beliefs, becomes the subtext if not the text of each man's writing; their induction into a world they little understood and which little understood

them informs the works they create. Finally, the diaries in this edition reveal the conscientious objectors' profound sense of isolation and alienation, from their ethnic communities and from the communities in which they were forced to live--communities that reviled them for not wholeheartedly embracing the country's militaristic fever.

In a 1918 letter to readers of the *Gospel Herald*, a Mennonite periodical, Menno Maust relates his experiences at Camp Custer, Michigan. Along with fifty other conscientious objectors in the camp, Maust has endured days in the guardhouse, a diet of bread and water, and the verbal tirades of an angry officer. Yet, Maust writes, the words of Jesus in Matthew's gospel provide comfort: "Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves." Isolated from home and aliens in the strange land of the military, Mennonite conscientious objectors in World War I believed nonetheless that this was their mission: to be bearers of peace in the center of violence, sent by God to be sheep among wolves. Their writing, and the stories told of their lives, gives testament to this calling.

Finding Voice in the Literary Democracy

The impulse to symbolically recreate Great War experiences through written discourse was not unique to Mennonite conscientious objectors, something to which any literature scholar may attest. The literary output during that period was so great that the critic Paul Fussell has christened the First World War a "literary war," one in which officers as well as soldiers read poetry in the trenches--but also composed it. Writing from the era has consistently put before twentieth-century readers the spectre of unbridled warfare; lest we forget, the literature reminds us of the war's battlefield horrors, the diplomats' flimsy promises that this would be the war to end all wars, and the irony that despite overwhelming loss, the war merely ignited another war and even more loss. Perhaps obviously, the trench poets are most often associated with Great War writing, their visceral images of war seared into modern memory: Sassoon's "agony dying hard ten days before"; Graves's "young death"; Owen's "old Lie," his blood-red stones kissed by death, the "mental cases" whose minds "the Dead have ravished." While some of the century's

other great authors (Woolf, Pound, Eliot, Lawrence, Joyce) wrote about the war but remained removed from it, those who were involved in the war--who lived and saw their comrades die in the trenches--are the poets who have brought readers face-to-face with the actuality of modern armed conflict. Although readers are now more familiar with other voices from the war, these are the writers we still most often associate with Great War literature.

Many of the World War I battlefield writers became conscientious objectors to war, yet their work has rarely been labeled as that of conscientious objectors. The texts of writers like Owen and Sassoon are taught in modern literature classes and included in anthologies because they were the best of the Great War writers, not necessarily because they criticized that war. Nonetheless, theirs has been the predominating voice of dissent about the Great War and its horrors, a dissent no doubt authenticated because the trench poets discovered first-hand how objectionable war could be. In reading this work we can readily sense how appalling the Great War was, how futile, how destructive. Most literary artists from that era worked hard to explode the notions of wartime heroics and bravery, notions blindly embraced by the populace which sent their young men to war. The images these writers constructed of the war while fighting and in the years after clearly expressed that this war was hell, and that they regretted having any part in it.

Certainly, the writing of most American conscientious objectors fits uncomfortably in this tradition of Great War literature if only because, by-and-large, American conscientious objectors never made it to the trenches, and were stating their objections to the war from far behind the lines of actual battlefield experience; in some cases, their objection to war was likewise founded on ideological principles different from those of the objectors at the war's front line. The Great War writing of American objectors must have seemed and must still seem irrelevant to some, especially when compared to the prominent literary texts produced by the war. After all, how could anyone object to the war without having seen it? And worse, how could anyone write about their wartime experiences without having actually experienced war and without having incurred any of the war's inexplicable costs? Such questions certainly have merit,

and suggest one reason why texts written by American conscientious objectors remain relatively obscure and so unread. This obscurity is deepened too because of the quality of conscientious objectors' writing; most texts by American conscientious objectors, including those of Mennonites, lack the technical and stylistic complexity of the great Great War writing. For these reasons, the writing of American conscientious objectors has been too often relegated to the margins of World War I literary studies. Yet the work of conscientious objectors deserves some place in the canon of Great War writing, if only because it provides another, fuller perspective on the war. And so, if not among the venerated trench poets, where does the writing of World War I conscientious objectors find its home? Most likely, in the tradition of American Great War autobiography, among the other texts of ordinary Americans who chose life writing as a vehicle in which to explain their extraordinary wartime experiences.

For in the years following the Great War, countless autobiographical texts about the war were published in America. Memoirs, letter collections, and diaries were penned by generals and soldiers, army chaplains and wartime entertainers, each detailing his or her role in the war to save the world, however small or large that role was. This expansive corpus of literature affirms William Dean Howells' 1909 description of autobiographical writing as "the most democratic province in the republic of letters" (798). Through publishing works about the self, minor characters in the war's theatres shared the stage with its finest protagonists: by inscribing their war experiences, Albert Ettinger, *A Doughboy with the Fighting 69th*, and Mary Rodderick, a singer for the Y.M.C.A., claimed their place in history alongside General John J. Pershing. Even political objectors to the war, those scorned and most mistreated by the vast military machine, published their experiences about the war. Ironically, Ernest Meyer's autobiographical *Hey! Yellowbacks!* occupies shelf space next to work by General Leonard Wood, a vocal antagonist of those opposing the war whose scorn for the "Yellowbacks" in his camp is well documented. Autobiography, that great democratic genre, seemingly became for Americans the modus operandi for expressing wartime experiences; life writing from the era far exceeds other forms of World War I American expressive literature in quantity, if not in quality.

Where, then, does the relatively minor writing of a relatively small religious sect fit in this cacophony of World War I voices, each which claims its own role in American history? Why examine the sparse, seemingly unmetaphoric words of a Mennonite sent to Fort Leavenworth for disobeying the military order to drill? Why read about the experiences of a man remembered now only by his ancestors, who organized conscientious objector activity in one Great War military camp? Why study the diary of an obscure Kansas farm boy who, after the war, would return to a life of farming? When others wrote so eloquently about the Great War and their lives in the trenches, why read the reflections of men who sometimes could not even spell correctly, who struggled to render metaphorically what they were experiencing in actuality?

Felicity Nussbaum and Robert Sayre provide a convincing answer to these questions. Nussbaum writes that "the marginalized and unauthorized discourse in diary holds the power to disrupt authorized versions of experience, even, perhaps, to reveal what might be called randomness and arbitrariness of the authoritative and public constructs of reality" (136). Sayre echoes Nussbaum in "The Proper Study--Autobiographies in American Studies," arguing that diaries we judge "merely boring or illiterate, repetitious and inconsequential" may in fact be "the unwanted messages of history" (247). Whether Mennonite conscientious objectors' writing can be deemed boring or repetitious must be left to the reader. Regardless, examining the diaries of Mennonite conscientious objectors affords the opportunity to hear the unwanted messages of American history, a history which has been predominantly informed by battlefield glory, constructed on the foundation of "military heroes willing to spill their blood on battle fields of freedom [who are] responsible for the creation and sustaining of a liberal democratic political ideal and system--one nation, under God, with liberty and justice for all" (Juhnke, "Manifesto" 3).² Great War autobiographical texts support this historical vision, as American war generals,

²One need only read the March 8, 1999, issue of *Newsweek* to see this still-persistent view of history. The special issue focuses on "Americans at War," and promises to provide readers stories of World War I to the Gulf War, told by its participants "in their own words." However, only those who experienced direct combat are given space to voice their wartime endeavors, despite the great number of pacifists in each American war who also had war experiences to tell.

doughboys, chaplains, and entertainers all claim their rightful place in what they believed a necessary war for American freedom. Even nonreligious conscientious objectors writing about their wartime experiences present this dominant version of history. In the foreword to Meyers' autobiography, for example, William Ellery Leonard makes clear that Meyers bases his pacifist principles on democratic ideals, unlike the religious sects--including Mennonites--who are "so grotesque in ideas, customs, even dress, as to be worse than useless" (iv). The daily musings of an obscure farm boy, trapped in military barracks; the reflections of a Harvard man, treated well for his scholastic honor if poorly for his religious values; the objector's serial narrative of months spent in a federal penitentiary voice a message American nationalist orthodoxy has sometimes attempted to suppress: that the land of the free is not always free, that the home of the brave defines "bravery" predominantly in militaristic terms. If, as historian Robert Kreider proclaims, "The time has come for the pacifist reinterpretation of American history" (ix), then reading the diaries of Mennonite conscientious objectors, exploring their interpretation of an incisive event in American history, becomes essential in that re-envisioning.

We well know, of course, that we cannot reconstruct history based solely on what several men wrote in their diaries, just as we would not limit our understanding of the trenches to what Guy Chapman wrote in *A Passionate Prodigality* or Edmund Blunden in *Undertones of War*. At the same time, we do not disregard Chapman's and Blunden's description of battle in their world war autobiographies, seeing their texts as valuable additions to the greater Great War narrative: a narrative constructed not only by the war's writers, but by the historians and artists who have analyzed and considered the war in the eighty years since artillery sounded across the Western Front. For the story of the Great War is not one limited to the years 1914-18; its carnage reaches far beyond the nine million dead in four years' time, assuredly to the murderous furnaces of the Second World War, perhaps even further. From the distance of the late twentieth century, we may read autobiographical texts written during the Great War with even more gravity and understanding than the writers who inscribed their experiences could ever predict, in large part because we know the Great War story more fully; we see with even greater clarity the burden of

wartime loss; we know with certainty the war's damaging effects on the twentieth-century psyche.

In similar fashion, the story of Mennonite objectors and the Great War is not limited to the years of American intervention, 1917-18. The story reaches four hundred years earlier, to the beginning of Anabaptism and the establishment of a nonresistant church; it extends beyond the Armistice, to the transformation of Mennonitism in the twentieth century. Detained Mennonite objectors who likewise kept diaries wrote under the weight of the church's past but with little understanding of their role in history--their personal history, their church's history, their country's history. Thus just as we understand more fully the autobiographical texts of combat soldiers in the war because we understand trench warfare, so too does a greater appreciation of the Mennonites' Great War diaries require the telling of the entire narrative: why the Mennonites chose conscientious objection during the war, and what became of their choice--as a church and as individuals. This volume attempts to provide the whole story, keeping at center the texts and the writers who deserve their own place in a literary democracy that has too readily silenced their message.

Living Peace: The Mennonite Church and its Nonresistant Past

During the First World War, American Mennonites were often assailed with the accusation of insincerity, their pacific convictions questioned even by fellow Christians, predominantly members of the country's mainline churches, who believed the war a holy struggle of good and evil. Some asserted the Mennonites' nonresistant stance was but a matter of convenience, a doctrine newly embraced by the sect to avoid accepting military duty and providing monetary support for the war effort. However false, the allegations further fueled antipathy toward the Mennonites. For Mennonites, the roots of nonresistance run four hundred years deep, back to the church's sixteenth-century conception in Switzerland. Hence to understand the Mennonites' conscientious objection to the Great War, one must start with the

church's beginnings and its foundation on the biblical principles of peacemaking, principles influencing the conscientious objectors' actions during the war, as well as what they wrote about their experiences.

Of course, a comprehensive study of Mennonite Church history is not possible here. Other texts, most notably C. Henry Smith's expansive *A Story of the Mennonites* (1941), provide a detailed examination of the Mennonites' fractious development in Europe as well as the forces which drove Mennonites to America's shores. Although named after a sixteenth-century former Catholic priest, Menno Simons, the Mennonites trace their origins to an assembly of believers pre-dating Simons. This group, led by Conrad Grebel, Georg Blaurock, and Felix Manz of Switzerland, broke from the Protestant Reformation in 1525, convinced that movement had not gone far enough in its own divorce from Rome. After Simons renounced his Catholicism one decade later, some of these Anabaptists (or re-baptizers) recognized his dynamic leadership in the movement, the clarity with which he expressed the doctrines supporting his faith and the fundamental depth of that faith. Simons soon developed a following among the Anabaptists; this following would earn the designation Menists, and later, Mennonites. Although the predominating Calvinist, Lutheran, and Catholic Churches attempted to quell the Anabaptist movement, it nonetheless spread rapidly from Switzerland to Germany and the Netherlands, and its adherents often faced persecution and torturous death for their alleged religious heresy. Simons himself was exiled from his native soil, and died in Germany forty years after the Anabaptists' first decisive break from the Protestant Reformation.

Adult baptism became but one point at which Anabaptists separated from the prevailing state-sanctioned church, which baptized children as infants and thus granted them immediate membership to the church. After studying the New Testament, early Anabaptist leaders were convinced only adult believers who voluntarily entered the church and confessed their faith should receive the rite of baptism; only those who understood and attempted to live by scriptural

commands should enter the community of believers. Literal obedience to scripture became the cornerstone of their faith. At every turn, the leaders examined the scripture and developed their doctrines according to what they believed Christ had called all his followers to do, a practice they thought the state church had long since ceased. The dominant European churches had become doctrinaire, as its hierarchic rulers interpreted scripture for the masses, transforming biblical passages into dictates that its members accepted without question or conviction. The Anabaptists, however, privileged autonomous interpretation of scripture, a freedom of the individual conscience to study the Bible and decipher its message. Rather than developing a catalogue of prescribed dogmas, Anabaptists leaders encouraged fellow believers to examine the Bible, discover its message, and then bear witness in their personal lives to what they found there.

To abide with the scriptures, Anabaptists felt called to separate from others, to dwell as a community of baptized believers apart from the unregenerate world. They were to refuse conformity with society, as Paul noted in his letter to the Romans: "And be not conformed to this world: but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect, will of God" (Romans 12:2). The Anabaptists knew their decision to humbly live by scripture rather than church dogmas would alone separate them. So too would their attempt to "bear witness" by living simply and above moral reproach: by refraining, Grebel proclaimed, "from adultery, gambling, drunkenness, usury, and other vices of the day" (qtd. in Smith 33). Although interpreted differently by different Mennonites in different eras, such nonconformity was and remains a crucial component of the Mennonite faith.

Their interpretation of scripture also separated early Anabaptists from the state church which, they asserted, had fitted Christ's words for the state's own purposes. In fact, according to the Anabaptists, scripture did not sanction the marriage of church and state. Anabaptists instead felt the New Testament teaches there are two kingdoms: that of the carnal world, necessarily governed by the state, and that of Christ, necessarily governed by God. Therefore, while

Christians must live in the carnal world they should not be of it; the church and the state had no business with each other. Christians should adhere to the state's decrees, rendering unto the state what it demands only when those demands do not oppose the higher dictates of God. As we will see, this belief caused the Mennonites difficulties in World War I, when the state's orders to bear arms conflicted with the Mennonites' biblical objection to war.

This objection itself was a crucial component in Mennonite doctrine from the church's inception, as the first Anabaptist confession of faith, penned in 1527, clearly shows. The confession states that Christians should relinquish "weapons of force, such as sword, armor and the like, together with all their use, whether for the protection of friends or against enemies" (qtd. in Horsch 20). Leaders Manz and Grebel, and later Simons, implored their followers to reject violence and the accouterments of warfare, instead embracing love and forgiveness as appropriate ways to deal with one's enemies. As with their other beliefs, early Anabaptist leaders again turned towards scripture to support this pacifistic stance, seeing there a consistent message from Christ to become, as Simons wrote, "children of peace." They found the most compelling argument for their position in Matthew 5:

Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth
for a tooth: But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite
thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also . . . Ye have heard that it hath
been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy. But I say unto
you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate
you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you.

(Matthew 5:38-39, 43-44)

Spoken at the Sermon on the Mount, these words became the crux of Mennonite nonresistance, the very term "nonresistance" coming from Christ's edict to "Resist not Evil." In accordance with the doctrine of two kingdoms, the Anabaptists also turned to John 18:36, where

Christ speaks before Pilate and says: "My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight." And, Anabaptists found further support for their stance in the Pauline epistle to the Romans. Here, Paul urges his readers to "Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good" (Romans 12:21). Such verses provided a significant basis for a belief in nonresistance, a belief which has, as Driedger and Kraybill argue, been "etched into Mennonite consciousness and tattooed on their public image, [defining] the essence of Mennonite identity" from the church's beginning (36).

Understanding the centrality of nonresistance in Mennonite doctrine is necessary if one is to understand Mennonites, and, for the purposes of this volume, Mennonite conscientious objection to war. Accepting Christ's words meant not only abhorring war and abstaining from military service, but also refusing revenge, litigation, and physical force. Throughout the church's history, from its inception to the First World War and beyond, this adherence to nonresistance proved quite costly for Mennonites, who often faced persecution from those with conflicting principles who found the Mennonites' refusal to renounce their faith when provoked and to fight violence with violence foreign to their own ethos. The idea of "suffering love" was therefore also woven into Mennonite history and doctrine, as the Mennonite was reminded to love even the persecutor whose hand struck him.

Attempts by state churches to arrest the Anabaptist movement's growth in sixteenth-century Europe often turned violent, and few of the initial church leaders died a natural death. Those who refused government orders to cease religious meetings, to attend the state church, and to have their children baptized faced certain persecution: fines, incarceration in vermin-infested prisons, and death by fire, water, or rack. Yet few recanted their beliefs, instead professing even as they died the certainty of their convictions. Anabaptists often fled their homelands to escape this scourge of intolerance, roving throughout Europe from Switzerland to the Netherlands,

Germany, and Russia in search of state and church leaders sympathetic to their faith. Rarely did such leaders extend this kindness for very long, if at all.

Therefore the Anabaptist martyrs, dead at the hands of a religiously monolithic state church, became an exemplar for future generations of enduring nonresistance under test. Their stories were gathered in Tieleman Jansz van Braght's *Martyrs' Mirror* in 1660, a thick volume which also included etchings of the martyrs' acts and of their deaths. Numerous editions were published in the proceeding centuries, and most Mennonites knew about the text even if their families did not own it. The book supplied Mennonites with a sort of hagiography, a volume of testimony to the church's deep-rooted willingness to "Resist not Evil" no matter the personal cost. The martyrs' peaceful resistance to evil, revealed graphically through the stories and pictures in *Martyrs' Mirror*, provided Mennonites a compelling model of nonresistant and persistent faith, a model which would prove useful to conscientious objectors confronted by persecution in World War I. Indeed denominational publications such as the *Gospel Herald* implored wartime readers to remain firm in their pacific convictions by remembering their past: "[The Mennonites'] early history has been written in blood, because of their abhorrence of strife and bloodshed. Their steadfastness and their very single-mindedness has produced among them thousands of martyrs, heroes, infinitely more heroic than the greatest soldiers of history" (Schmidt 589).

Such a quick sketch of Mennonite history and doctrine does little justice to the church's complex beginnings, to the achievement of its early leaders or the witness of its many martyrs. What should remain vivid in this history, though, is the Mennonites' centuries-old conviction about nonresistance, and the centrality of nonresistance and suffering love in the Mennonite faith. Obviously, their belief in nonresistance (as well as other church doctrines) influenced every part of the Mennonite conscientious objectors' World War I experience, from their desire to remain separated from the "carnal" military world to their refusal to bear arms and wear a military uniform to their acceptance of the punishment meted out to them. In their diaries, the men declare their assurance in Christ's call to overcome evil with good and to love their tormentors, a "suffering love" which would sometimes cause further agitation.

Mennonite history therefore tells us that far from being a convenient method for avoiding patriotic duty, conscientious objection to violence was and is a deeply-rooted conviction, as a wartime editorial in the periodical *The Mennonite* duly notes:

Of course, we cling to our historic principle of testing against war.

Four centuries, some of them marked with bloody persecution, are

behind us perpetuating the glory of our fathers who were so far in

advance of their times as to dream of a time when wars should cease to curse the

earth. (12 April 1917)

Those in Great War America who deemed the Mennonites shirkers and slackers did not, of course, know about this history, about the "four centuries" of nonresistant life or the "bloody persecution" which sealed its significance. Without reading extensively into Mennonite history, the Mennonites' accusers could not fully comprehend the ways pacifistic beliefs had shaped the early church and, as it turned out, compelled many Mennonites to flee European oppressors for what they assumed was a more religiously tolerant United States. Ironically the Mennonites believed they had discovered in twentieth-century America the same conditions they had hoped to escape in the Old World.

Seeking a Land of Liberty: Mennonites Come to America

When the United States declared war on Germany in 1917, nearly 80,000 Mennonites lived in America. Scattered in small rural communities across the country, this Mennonite population must have seemed negligible to most Americans, especially to those far from the Mennonite epicenters in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and the Midwest. Despite this relatively modest population, many who knew of the Mennonites considered them quiet and trustworthy citizens who paid their taxes willingly and did not burden the justice system; the Mennonites also earned the reputation of being excellent, hard-working farmers, producing goods for those far beyond their religious communities. Although still embracing the idea of nonconformity and attempting to live separated from the world, Mennonites were yet assimilated in many ways, and

a good number believed themselves loyal citizens of America who contributed well to the country and its people.

Perceptions about Mennonites changed with America's entrance into World War I. Because of their ethnic origin and even more because of their nonresistant stance, Mennonites were no longer considered worthy citizens. Rather they were slackers and cowards, disloyal and unpatriotic German sympathizers. In the opinion of one prominent American, former President Theodore Roosevelt, they deserved nothing better than a place at the Western Front with other war objectors, sweeping mines and dodging gunfire (Peterson and Fite 136). For obvious reasons, such accusations deeply upset the Mennonites, who were stunned that the home of the free apparently no longer afforded them--or their young men, forced into the military--a freedom of conscience. After all, many Mennonites had journeyed to America to escape religious intolerance and widespread military conscription in European countries. In World War I America, however, Mennonites faced both intolerance and military conscription, leading them to wonder what had become of the American promise of liberty.

The first Mennonite immigrants who came to America seeking this freedom probably landed in 1643, the earliest recorded date of "the Menists'" arrival to New Netherlands (Smith 535). Forty years later, Dutch Mennonites established the initial permanent settlement in Germantown, Pennsylvania, at the special invitation of William Penn. Over the next 200 years, larger waves of Mennonites would immigrate to America, with the last massive immigration from Russia occurring as the nineteenth century waned. Though the blood bath of the Anabaptists had mainly concluded by the seventeenth century, European Mennonites still faced religious intolerance: by government order, they could not attract public attention, were compelled to pay exorbitant taxes, and suffered other like abuses. For the most part, those migrating to America in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century were escaping this religious milieu as well as economic hardship; the Russian immigrants arriving on America's shores one century later predominantly sought to avoid that country's newly established military conscription.

Never a homogeneous group, the Mennonites were further fractured in their migration to America, resulting in a great variety of ethnicities and religious identities within the larger American Mennonite body. Proud of their similar heritage, Mennonite groups yet consistently sought to distinguish themselves from other Mennonites; although coming from the same ecclesiastical source, sixteen Mennonite tributaries existed by the twentieth century, each with characteristics separating them from other Mennonite sects. While for the most part remaining firm in the historic stance of nonresistance, the distinct Mennonite groups responded to the Great War differently, albeit in sometimes subtle ways. These subtleties appear even in the Mennonite conscientious objectors' diaries, sometimes in what the men write, often times in who the writers mention and to which Mennonite leaders they address their concerns.

By the World War's beginning, the Old Mennonite Church was considered the largest of these distinct Mennonite sects, with a membership of nearly 35,000.³ Its members claimed a Swiss and South German ethnicity whose ancestors had long ago migrated to America to escape religious intolerance and economic hardship. Arriving in America during the seventeenth and eighteenth century, Swiss and South German Mennonites were concentrated in Pennsylvania, Indiana and Ohio, and the Midwest. Because of their long heritage in America, by the twentieth century those in the Old Mennonite Church had for the most part ceased using the German language, in public especially, and had severed most familial ties with their European homelands; these factors would prove useful to Old Mennonites in World War I, as they could sometimes avoid accusations of being German sympathizers.

Despite their long tenure in America, members of this sect persisted in the Mennonite creeds of nonresistance, nonconformity, and humility. Those in the Old Mennonite Church spoke and dressed simply; refused to take oaths; abstained from participation in public and political events; and attended to their quiet, productive communities primarily in rural farming

³In the 1980s, the "Old" Mennonite Church changed its name to the Mennonite Church. However, to avoid confusion and to present the "Old" Mennonite Church as it was during the Great War, I will retain the moniker "Old" Mennonite Church throughout this introduction. In July, 1999, the Mennonite Church and the General Conference Mennonite Church merged, forming the Mennonite Church, USA.

areas. Old Mennonite pastors were chosen by lot but were not paid and had no theological training. Still, they maintained exacting authority within the church. The sect was remarkably well-organized with leaders, called bishops, overlooking a group of churches or district conferences. Such organization provided a useful stay against confusion in the First World War, as the Old Mennonite leadership in good time assembled a catalogue of expectations for its body, both about military service and about conscientious objection. Included in this was an uncompromising belief that conscientious objectors should serve no form of duty in military camps, noncombatant or otherwise. Any "conciliatory offer" to the government, the Old Mennonite leadership argued, would become a slippery slope, with the military's seeming innocuous job offers leading to impossible demands for conscientious objectors (Juhnke, *Two Kingdoms* 99).

The General Conference Mennonites approached the government to discuss its war policies with more of a "conciliatory" tone, hoping to "win the goodwill of the government by making it very clear that they had no objections to serving the country in time of war and that they were willing to negotiate for alternatives" (Juhnke, *Two Kingdoms* 99). With 15,400 members, the General Conference Mennonite Church was the second largest Mennonite group during the First World War, distinct from the Old Mennonite Church because of its ethnic origin as well as its more progressive nature. The General Conference Mennonite Church was formed in 1860, bringing together new immigrants from South Germany as well as dissatisfied Mennonites from the "Old" Conference. Then, in 1873, a massive exodus of Dutch Mennonites from Russia to America began. These Mennonites' guarantee of exemption from the military, established by Catherine the Great, had been revoked by a new Russian government, and the Mennonites believed America would offer them the security of conscience they had lost in Russia.⁴ They settled mostly in Kansas, Oklahoma, and Nebraska, and fast became noted

⁴Soon after vast numbers of Mennonite immigrants fled Russia for America, the government re-extended to Mennonites the promise of military exemption and offered them alternative service in hopes of convincing Mennonites to stay. This promise lasted through the Great War and until the Communist Revolution, when many Mennonites were exiled from Russia or were killed.

farmers. With strands of Dutch, Swiss, and German ethnicities, the General Conference Mennonites lacked the homogeneity of their co-denominationalists. Yet because many had so recently immigrated to America, German remained their privileged language in the early twentieth century, and some General Conference Mennonites retained familial and cultural ties to their homeland.

At the same time, their more progressive nature proved useful to the group in its dealings with the government and the military. General Conference Mennonites were concerned less than their Mennonite counterparts about nonconformity in attire, concerned more than the Old Mennonites about education and active involvement in missions and in their communities. They participated in politics more than their Old Mennonite counterparts, voted in good number, and even had some candidates for local and state campaigns. Still, the Conference as a whole lacked the organization of the Old Mennonites. General Conference Mennonites affirmed each congregation's autonomy and each person's conscience and did not dictate rules of faith and praxis, as did Old Mennonite leadership. Without central authority, General Conference Mennonites in some ways appeared less prepared when President Wilson finally declared War. Faced in 1917-18 with questions about Mennonite conscientious objectors, General Conference Mennonites could not provide any definite answers to its members. In 1920, the General Conference Exemption Committee issued their non-decisive position: "neither Committee nor Conference could speak for the individual conscience of the drafted men" (Krehbiel 330). Lacking a definitive set of principles to follow, General Conference men--like their Old Mennonite brethren--often sought personal guidance from church leaders and ministers, though the advice they received was sometimes uneven and contradictory.

The Old Mennonites and General Conference Mennonites accounted for more than half the Mennonite population in World War I America, and represented the most dominant and most visible strands of Mennonitism in this country. Other smaller Mennonite sects existed, and their men likewise responded to the draft. Members of these minor sects shared an ethnic heritage with the Old Mennonites or the General Conference Mennonites. Often the smaller streams of

the church resulted from much earlier schisms among European Mennonites. The Old Order Amish, for example, had around 7,600 members at the Great War's beginning. Related to the Old Mennonite Church through their Swiss ethnicity, the Amish had split from the larger Mennonite body in 1693 Switzerland, when Jacob Amman advocated stricter discipline in the church for its errant members. Considered more conservative than other Mennonite sects, the Old Order Amish remained far separated from the world around them, and instead concentrated on the vitality of their religious communities and their families. They rejected newer "technologies," such as buttons, and persisted in growing beards even when other Mennonites stopped that practice, taking literally the precept found in Leviticus 19:27: "Ye shall not round the corners of your head, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard." Variants of Amish also resided in the United States, including the Amish Mennonite and Stucky Amish; in some ways more progressive than the Old Order Amish, these groups would later merge with the Old Mennonite and General Conference Mennonites, respectively.

The Mennonite Brethren were a result of another church schism, this time among nineteenth-century Russian Mennonites; of Dutch extraction, Mennonite Brethren broke from the larger church body in Russia, becoming more evangelical and pietistic in nature. As part of the 1870-1880 immigrant push, the Mennonite Brethren settled in Kansas, Oklahoma, and Nebraska, established their own German periodical, and concentrated on missions work at home and overseas. By 1916, they numbered 5,000. Yet even smaller strands than this (1,000 members or less in 1916) composed the American Mennonite Church: the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren and Evangelical Mennonite Brethren shared a Dutch-Russian heritage with the Mennonite Brethren; the Holderman Mennonites belonged to the same brand of Swiss-Dutch ethnicity as the General Conference Mennonites; and the Hutterites' Swiss/South German origin was the same as that of the Old Mennonite Church. Of all Mennonite groups, the Hutterite men had perhaps the most difficult time in World War I military camps. Even more isolated than other Mennonite sects, the Hutterites lived in rural communal settlements or Gemeinen (colonies) located in South Dakota and Montana. They spoke German almost exclusively and were mostly unfamiliar with

the world's ways. In their objection to war the Hutterites were "absolutist" in the strictest sense, refusing all jobs in military camps, including any sanitation chores. They were often sorely punished for their absolutist stance and their seemingly backward ways. Close to 1000 Hutterites migrated to Canada during the war to escape conscription, though many returned after the war ended (Homan 158).

Those unfamiliar with the Mennonite Church may find this heterogeneity confusing, as will some who claim membership in one of many Mennonite sects. Differences in doctrine, ethnicity, and lifestyle certainly matter to the distinct Mennonite groups--else there would not be such distinctions. Because of these varied Mennonite sects, making any general description of Mennonite culture in World War I America is difficult; as is the danger with any generalization, the distinct characteristics of smaller Mennonite sects will be lost in an attempt to define a monolithic Mennonite culture. There were still some cultural similarities among the many types of Mennonites: the great significance of home community and family in the men's lives; the supremacy of the Bible and denominational publications as preferred reading material; the common Mennonite practice of home visitation by church pastors, by friends, and by family.

Conscientious objectors in World War I were primarily farmers, a reflection of the Mennonites' predominant rural, agrarian existence. Jacob C. Meyer and Gustav Gaeddert, whose diaries are included here, seem somewhat as anomalies for their occupations as educators. Yet Meyer and Gaeddert also symbolize the transforming culture of early twentieth-century Mennonitism, their quest for higher education reflective in the Mennonites' general desire to improve education among their people. In the span of little more than thirty years, from 1883-1917, the Mennonites founded ten schools--seven colleges and three preparatory schools--each affiliated with one of three Mennonite groups. In World War I, however, ninety percent of World War I conscientious objectors had no education beyond the eighth grade. Nonetheless, the larger church body had, by that time, begun investing its energy and resources in instructing its youth to meet the challenges of maintaining church vitality in the modern era. Although some of the more conservative sects did not join this progressive educational movement, many

Mennonites in the larger groups saw education as an important way to retain and train its membership for the healthy continuance of the church.

To varying degrees Mennonites remained separated from the greater American public, both culturally, because of their generally more conservative nature, and geographically, because Mennonites tended to settle among their own kind in small rural communities. And, Mennonites as a whole were separated from the "worldly kingdom" of American culture by their distinctly shared core set of beliefs, established centuries earlier by their Anabaptist ancestors.

Nonresistance, nonconformity, and the importance of a community of believers set apart from the world formed that core. Although disagreements about how to respond to the war caused some friction among Mennonite groups, their common insistence during the Great War on "Resisting not Evil" obfuscated some differences among Mennonites, who became to many outsiders a homogenous group of odd zealots lacking courage, valor, or a love for America. Mennonites could thus find some commonality in their mutual suffering at the impassioned patriots' hands. Distinctions between Mennonite groups were also fairly muted within military camps, as men from the varied sects were detained together in objector detachments, where they formed a sort of Christian brotherhood: Hutterites and Amish worshipped with General Conference and Old Mennonites, discussed doctrinal issues together, and provided each other moral and physical assistance when needed. At the same time, the distinctions between the groups remained, evidenced at times by the diary writers' enumeration of who in their number belonged to which sect, at times by the appearance in military camps of leaders representing different Mennonite Church bodies, at times by their differing definitions about what constituted nonresistance.

The writers in this volume come from several of the larger Mennonite sects. Gustav Gaeddert and John Neufeld grew up in and around Inman, Kansas, an area heavily populated by General Conference Mennonites. Although they were both of that Mennonite conference, they attended different congregations in Inman--congregations pastored by their fathers and grandfathers, reflecting a heritage thick in General Conference Mennonitism. Ura Hostetler was raised an Old Mennonite, and remained a member of an Old Mennonite church his entire life, his

father, an Amish Mennonite, having left the Amish sect before Hostetler's birth. Jacob C. Meyer was an Amish Mennonite from Ohio's Oak Grove congregation, where he remained an active member until his death.

Given the lack of voices from the smaller Mennonite sects, these writers speak in many ways for all Mennonites, reflecting clearly the Great War experiences of conscientious objectors, whether Old Mennonite or Old Order Amish. For whatever their affiliation, Mennonites as a whole persisted (and yet persist) in embracing the doctrine of nonresistance. Because of this, they were severely tested by World War I America, and no Mennonite group escaped some form of mistreatment. In turn, such wartime persecution forced Mennonites of all varieties to question their country's promise of liberty, no matter how far back their American roots reached, as well as their precarious place as American citizens. Certainly some Mennonite sects had faced war in America before, and had emerged with their nonresistant beliefs intact. But their experiences in previous American wars, the relative peace in America which spanned over half a century after the Civil War, and the Mennonites' inability to make their peace testimony more real to new generations of believers all contributed to the Mennonites' general lack of preparedness when, in 1917, war finally returned to America .

"The Dragon War": America Enters the Fray

George Brunk probably never saw the Western Front, never witnessed the blasted landscape, the millions dead, the twisting trenches, the rotting earth, the utter devastation from several years' battle between Allied and Central Powers. Lacking direct observation seemingly mattered little to the Mennonite, whose poem "War" utilizes visceral language to imagine the horrors of a "dragon War" he has never seen. Published in the Old Mennonite periodical, *Gospel Herald*, two weeks after the United States declared war in 1917, Brunk's poem visualizes war as a monster "Belched forth from the infernal world" and as a "terrible storm" which pummels "millions . . . into the dust/By [its] leaden and iron hail." Although lacking the stark, gritty quality of poems written in the trenches, Brunk's work nonetheless proved a powerful portent for

Mennonite readers. Because the "dragon War" has come to America, Brunk's poem proclaims, the public will be blinded by "strange delusions," and will "dedicate their sons to the god of war,/And perpetuate the universal wrong." And so it came to pass, as Brunk and others could easily predict. Having declared war with Germany on April 2, 1917, the United States quickly became engulfed in a feverish support for the war. A little over one month later, when Wilson declared the need for universal military training, the country dedicated its sons to the war, to the terrible storm, to the belching dragon.

By this time, of course, millions of European families had already sacrificed their sons to the war god. We well know about this sacrifice: the rampant destruction of Europe and its men, the loss of a generation and of innocence, the obliteration of pastoral countrysides and small villages. Pictorial images and wartime writers provide constant reminders of this destruction, of the desolate land, scarred by metal and death; the muddied trenches, infested with vermin and stinking of death; the "froth-corrupted lungs," burned by mustard gas. For over four years Allied Forces battled the Central Powers in theatres stretching from Europe to the Mediterranean and Northern Africa, the war's causes and its ends obfuscated by its means. The trenches carved deep into the European countryside came to symbolize the war: both its methods as well as its stalemates, the inability to make any progression towards peace either militarily or diplomatically. From the perspective of nearly a century's distance, we see even more clearly the Great War's seeming futility, the bitter irony that "eight million people were destroyed because two persons, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his Consort, had been shot" (Fussell 8).

Though obviously a simplification of the war's political, cultural, and diplomatic complexities, Paul Fussell voices a common assessment of the war and its senselessness, a devastation the United States managed to avoid for over two and a half years after the Archduke was assassinated. Of course, at the war's beginning in 1914, a few Americans chose loyalties, professing their desire for German or Allied victory; in the war's early years, the Germans especially were vilified for their well-publicized atrocities in Belgium and for sinking the British luxury liner *The Lusitania* in 1915. Substantial governmental loans to Allied nations also

suggested definite American loyalties, and certainly the United States benefited economically from the war by selling munitions and other supplies to Allied countries. And, despite supposed neutrality, some American young men felt a strong call to war, said "To hell with peace talk," and went to Europe anyway, to work in the medical corps or to join the French Legion (qtd. in Harries 41). For many Americans, however, the Great War was "over there"; the destruction horrible, but something from which America should steer clear, as the noted inventor Henry Ford argued at the time: "It has always been this competitive arming, this deadly invitation to a test of strength that has spelled death and sorrow to millions. We have had none of it. We should have none of it" ("The Awfulness of War" 483). Although entry into war would engender different public opinion, at the time, many of his countrymen supported Ford's assertion

Thus as the barbaric Old World self-destructed, peace societies continued to flourish in the New World, and both religious and secular groups professed support for United States neutrality and for President Wilson's attempts at peaceful negotiations between warring parties. While the cauldron of war boiled in Europe, Wilson won a 1916 re-election behind the well-known slogan "He Kept Us Out of War"--a slogan which no doubt would haunt the president a few months later. Throughout the first years of war and into 1917, Wilson did keep his country out of war, maintaining a peacemaker's status between the Allies and the Central Powers and arguing for "peace without victory," the establishment of a league of nations, and national self-determination. Appearing before the Senate on January 22, 1917, President Wilson made his stance clear: he would ask the warring countries to make peace, a peace secured "by the organized major force of mankind." His proposal for amity was founded, he said, on "American principles, American policies . . . These are the principles of mankind and must prevail" (qtd. in Knock 113).

Most Mennonites were encouraged by President Wilson's sustained neutrality, as well as his attempts at peacemaking. A 1915 editorial in the *Gospel Herald* aptly notes the Mennonites' general support for their governmental leader:

Just now the President of the United States is setting a worthy example to the rulers of other countries by declaring himself for peace, although the United States has suffered greater provocation than some other nations that allowed themselves to become involved in war. We would be glad to see President Wilson go farther and declare himself against war under any circumstances, but we are grateful for his resolute stand for peace. (20 May 1915)

Many Mennonites continued to champion neutrality throughout the war's early years, and even when America's intervention seemed inevitable, they remained optimistic about President Wilson's power to maintain peace. At the same time, a few German-Mennonite publications expressed sympathy for their homeland, proclaiming the "flatly horrible" treatment of the Germans at the Allied hands--the "barbaric" Russians, the vengeful French, the economically jealous English (translated in Huxman 76). These and similar declarations of German allegiances would prove detrimental to Mennonites once war with Germany began, and were in fact surprising, coming from a seemingly pacific people who somehow reconciled their wartime support for Germany with their belief in nonresistance. However, such editorializing little reflected the majority of Mennonites' clear impulse to remain neutral like their president, and to deplore the "blood-red tide of war in Europe," a tide the *Gospel Herald* believed America had the power and "glorious privilege" to stop (Blauch 58).

Two years after the *Gospel Herald's* editorial, though, the bloodshed in Europe was yet undammed. President Wilson's diplomatic attempts to foster "peace without victory" failed in early 1917: the warring parties would accept peace only at the price of total victory, having sacrificed too much to surrender with too few recognizable gains. After Wilson's negotiations faltered, the United States still remained a neutral party. But Germany renewed its practice of unrestricted submarine warfare, "put[ting] aside all restraints of law or of humanity," Wilson would say in his April 2 address to Congress. Wilson became further incensed by the infamous Zimmerman telegram, dispatched from the German Foreign Minister, Arthur Zimmerman, to the German minister in Mexico. The missive detailed a plan for Mexico to enter an alliance with

Germany should America declare war; if the alliance proved successful, Mexico would regain their "lost territory": New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas. Publication of the telegram inflamed the American public, who pushed even more for war with Germany. With no chance for peace without victory, and with Germany inciting American outrage, Wilson reluctantly came to the momentous conclusion: "I can't keep the country out of war," he reportedly told Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels (Morrison 79).

Conflict was already brewing in the United States between those who endorsed war against Germany and those who longed to remain neutral. This friction intensified when the declaration of war seemed imminent. David Kennedy reports that on April 1, 1917, a mob attempted to quash a meeting of the Emergency Peace Federation and silence its leader David Jordan, but were stopped when the crowd sang "The Star-Spangled Banner," thereby allowing Jordan to escape. One day later, an apparent pacifist confronted Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and called him a "damned coward" for promoting war; Lodge instigated a fist fight between the two (in which the "pacifist" whole-heartedly participated), until the pacifist was dragged away by a crowd and beaten (Kennedy 14-15). The same day, and in the midst of this public turmoil, President Wilson addressed the Congress, outlining the reasons the United States needed to declare war against Germany. In his speech, Wilson reminded Congress of Germany's high seas indiscretions, its disregard for law and humanity, its belligerency towards American citizens. War was thus necessary, Wilson said, "to bring the Government of the German Empire to its terms and end the war." Although America's entrance in the war would require immense resources and sacrifices, Wilson reassured his auditors that he remained dedicated to his earlier peace principles, and that the United States would fight "for the ultimate peace of the world." In words which would soon ring hollow to some Americans, including Mennonites, Wilson promised that America would "champion . . . the rights of mankind" and would make those rights "secure" in every nation, thus ensuring the world would be "safe for democracy." Finally Wilson reminded Americans of the democratic principles on which the country was founded, and of the "privilege" America had to "spend her blood and might for the . . . happiness and peace which

she has treasured" (*Source Records* 108-17). With that, the United States had declared its entrance into the war, a declaration approved by the 65th Congress four days later. The president did not feel settled by his decision, and according to some accounts, he wept the night following his speech, seeing the address to Congress, as he said, "a message of death for our young men" (Qtd. in Harries 72).

The skirmishes between pacifist and pro-war factions before April 2 pretty well predicted the public's varied responses to President Wilson's declaration. Some peace societies continued to promote the need for American neutrality and an amicable end to the war and were supported in their efforts by several members of Congress, the most impassioned being Senators George Norris and Robert La Follette. The Mennonites joined this opposition, vocalizing in their publications a certain sadness about their country's decision to make war. In their April 12, 1917 issue, the *Gospel Herald* notes with a hint of resignation that "armed conflict . . . is apparently a matter of time." Yet the editorial also suggests hope that America's intervention will not be necessary:

We are still praying that, even though war has actually been declared, some thing may happen that will bring to an end the awful world conflict of the past few years before it can spread much farther, but that whatever happens God may continue to abide with His people and give them grace sufficient for ever trial.

("Our Attitude" 25)

While refraining from discussing the "merits or demerits" of a military confrontation with Germany, the editorial expresses what the Mennonites' "attitude" should be towards the war, the government, the battling countries, and God, reminding readers of the stance Mennonites had embraced--and should embrace even as America goes to war. In the weeks and months following, Mennonite publications continued to reiterate their nonresistant stance and their hopes for a peaceful resolution without the need for "carnal warfare." Unfortunately, those Americans who shared the Mennonites' desire for peace were fast dwindling in numbers.

Many had seemingly abandoned their pacifism at the moment of President Wilson's war declaration. Following Wilson's speech the mood was celebratory in places, the country's patriotic flame ignited by the April 2 pronouncement of war. This flame would soon burn more fiercely, propelled by "the most strenuous nationalism and the most pervasive nativism that the United States had ever known" (Higham 195). Congressional debate about American intervention reflected the country's newly-acquired superpatriotism, with one senator calling an opponent of war "pro-German . . . anti-American President and Anti-American Congress, and anti-American people" (Kennedy 21); La Follette was handed a rope in the chambers, one presumes to facilitate his own demise. Peace societies, burgeoning in 1914, quickly dissolved, its members now hopping on the war bandwagon. Even some well-known proponents of peace such as progressive philosopher and pedagogue John Dewey rejected their former pacifistic stance and championed American intervention. Americans were not contradicting themselves in this drastic shift in ideology, Dewey argued; instead, Wilson had necessarily shown his countrymen that "just because the pacific moral impulse retained all its validity, Germany must be defeated in order that it find full fruition" (*New Republic*). Dewey's idea resonated well with Americans. In public meetings and in the press, among former pacifists and new patriots, citizens cheered their country's role in the European war. The New World, peaceful and moral, must help the debilitated Old World discover and recover democracy.

The few who objected to United States intervention found themselves in a precarious position: no longer sharing the ideals of their government, they became a diminishing minority amidst the growing population of war supporters. The country, though seemingly swept up an ever-widening vortex of war hysteria, stood firm on the principle of just war: the threat of German dominance was real, and American intervention was necessary. Yet while many Americans were convinced their country's part in the war was a moral mission for democracy, some Americans, including Mennonites, rejected warfare on moral grounds as well; for Mennonites and other peace churches especially, making war was clearly immoral. Herein emerged a conflict. Those who embraced the war for what they believed moral reasons could

little accept those who rejected any war for moral reasons, and vice versa. This conflict of ideologies, coupled with a good dose of nativistic ardor, became a volatile mix, as the eighteen plus months following President Wilson's April 2 address would all too clearly show.

After several years of holding the "dragon War" at bay, the American people had finally allowed the beast to touch their country's shores. As tides of American young men prepared for their journey "over there," and as the government began exploring ways to fund its military operations, patriotic zeal intensified. The Mennonites, clinging tightly to their nonresistant faith, found themselves in a cultural climate unrivaled by anything they had experienced before in America. Their moral imperative to remain peacemakers clashing with the moral imperative to quell barbarous Huns, Mennonites struggled to articulate clearly the basis of their beliefs. In the din of citizens clamoring for American glory and for the arrival of peace through a just war, the Mennonites' own objection to war would not be heard.

Crushed by the White-Hot Mass: Mennonites and Americans Face War

The fire must have been spectacular. At least pictures of the conflagration suggest as much. Fierce flames engulfed the large edifice, and smoke poured out of its many windows, darkening the Kansas sky. Pro-war arsonists were suspected of causing the fire which destroyed the Mennonite Brethren college's main building (Juhnke, *Vision* 218). Tabor College shared the fiery fate of two Mennonite churches, in Michigan and in Oklahoma, both destroyed by American citizens who found the Mennonites' peace stance and their German ethnicity suspicious. This was probably the worst property damage done to Mennonites during the First World War. Nonetheless, Mennonites still found their churches splashed with yellow paint and their homes emblazoned with American flags and graffiti; received threats from neighbors and the press; were tarred and feathered; and in a few cases, were nearly lynched by angry mobs. As the push to make the country "100 percent Americanized" intensified, Mennonites faced increased persecution in their communities because of their German heritage, because of their opposition to the war, and because of their nonconformity. In the Great War Mennonites would

become, according to historian Frederick Luebke, "the most grievously abused of any German culture group in the United States" (xv). Swept into the fire of wartime hysteria, Mennonites as well as other dissenting groups and other immigrants faced "one white-hot mass" of patriots compelled by "fraternity, devotion, courage and deathless determination" (Harries 164) to destroy everything which did not share an one hundred percent American vision.

Unlike other wars fought on native soil, American citizens could not feel directly threatened in World War I. They faced no bloody battles on their own shores, and many could not name with logical clarity the causes of American intervention, nor what would be gained or lost by American involvement. The government had asked its people to make tremendous sacrifices for a war "over there." To fight the Hun successfully, Americans would have to relinquish their money, their food supplies, their young men. Governmental authorities anticipated a potential problem: how could they sustain the citizens' initial fervor for war against Germany while also encouraging necessary and costly sacrifices to win that war? The development of the Committee for Public Information (CPI) provided one solution. As the propaganda arm of President Wilson's administration, the CPI helped foment a war hysteria which would claim as its victims immigrant Americans, socialists, religious pacifists, "Wobblies," conscientious objectors, and any other wartime dissenters it deemed disloyal and traitorous.

The CPI was headed by George Creel who was a progressive muckraker hand-picked by President Wilson for the job (Harries 165). Ostensibly, the CPI had been created as a mouthpiece for the government's wartime policies, but with the war's progression Creel's organization increasingly became the voice of crass propaganda. To sustain support for the war, the CPI felt it necessary to convince Americans that an evil Germany posed a threat to democracy and the American way of life. The only way Germany's rampant aggression could be stopped was through loyalty to the American cause and a united patriotic front, manifest in citizens' willingness to provide material goods for the war, to readily accept military conscription, and to whole-heartedly support "the boys" in their democratic mission.

Creel developed a multi-faceted approach to achieve these ends. He deployed "Four-Minute Men," fast-speaking professionals who gave short addresses to crowds at movie houses and ballparks, on ferries and streetcars; they were sent by Creel to emulate Jesus, termed by the CPI "the Master Four-Minute Man" (named so because of his ability to move crowds with brief parables), in stirring their listeners to loyalty and to support for the American cause (Harries 172). In addition, Creel's committee created publications, organized vast advertising campaigns, and produced movies, all overt attempts to stir the American people into patriotic sacrifice, be it the sacrifice of men to conscription or of food for those men. Films recounting German atrocities played at full theatres, where moviegoers also joined in singing patriotic songs. CPI publications urged Americans to report wartime dissenters to the Justice Department and to be wary of Germans, many who would presumably spread pernicious lies about Americans and the military. Those who hesitated to register for the draft because of conscience sake especially met the CPI's ire. Advertisements indicted such men for their unwillingness to make this godly sacrifice. One read "I'd rather you had died at birth/or not been born at all/Than know that I had raised a son who cannot hear the call./To save the world from sin, my son, God gave his only son./He's asking for MY boy , today, and may his will be done" (Cornebise 60). To further Americanize Americans, the CPI organized "Loyalty Leagues" in the country's ethnic communities to disseminate foreign-language publications about the war; held rallies throughout the country; and even sent immigrants back to their homelands as CPI missionaries, carrying propaganda about America to the Old World (Kennedy 65).

Citizens throughout the country participated in rallies, bellowed patriotic songs, displayed flags, gave freely to the Red Cross, bought Liberty Loans, and celebrated their sons' induction into the military. These were the more innocuous manifestations of the CPI's success. Some Americans, taking more seriously the CPI edict to wipe the scourge of dissent and disloyalty from the country, joined mob protests and vigilante groups. One vigilante group, the American Protective League (APL), even had the sanction of the Justice Department and used that endorsement to strong-arm "slackers" into buying Liberty Loans; to spy on neighbors; to

rifle through unopened mail sent by assumed alien enemies; to make citizens arrests of supposed spies; and to quash dissent, wherever and however possible, all in the name of loyalty to the American cause. One APL member, voicing the sentiments of his group, wrote the government that "the almost universal impression is that traitors and spies should be shot and the food given them saved for our soldiers and citizens," although the terms traitor and spy were applied liberally (qtd. in Johnson 69). Mobs likewise formed to scare and intimidate dissenters into "volunteering" for the army, displaying the American flag, giving to the Red Cross, buying Liberty Loans. Sometimes the mobs turned deadly, beating and lynching Americans suspected as German traitors--in one St. Louis case, only because the "traitor" was from Germany. The crowd presumably did not know the young man had tried to enlist, but could not serve for medical reasons. David Kennedy reports that the *Washington Post* responded to the mob murder by editorializing that "In spite of excesses such as lynching, it is a healthful and wholesome awakening in the interior of the country" (68).

In an age of increased skepticism about advertising and about government propaganda, we may little understand the CPI's ability to foment a fevered nativism among respectable and intelligent people. However, in 1917-18, CPI rhetoric motivated Americans not only to sacrifice their men, money, and meals, but also encouraged citizens to suspect their neighbors and to encourage conformity to the "American" way of life--by whatever means necessary. The CPI's mission was made much easier by the contributions of mainline churches, the bedrock of American belief and opinion. Echoing CPI propaganda, both church ministers and denominational publications told believers that World War I was a holy and just war, ordained by God to rid the world of the Anti-Christ Kaiser. Albert Dieffenbach's editorial in *The Christian Register* became a typical ecumenical call to arms:

As Christians, of course, we say Christ approves [of war]. But would he fit and kill? . . . There is not an opportunity to deal death to the enemy that he would shirk from or delay in seizing! He would take bayonet and grenade and bomb and rifle and do the work of deadliness against

that which is the most deadly enemy of his Father's kingdom in a thousand years . . . That is the inexorable truth about Jesus Christ and this war; and we rejoice to say it. (qtd. in Abrams 68)

If Jesus, the founder and perfecter of Christian faith, could bear arms and throw grenades, preachers reasoned that any godly man seeking to imitate Christ must also take up arms. Otherwise, as one Christian leader argued, he is "a coward and worse than a coward . . . [he is] lacking in manly and Christian qualities" (qtd. in Abrams 68). To add further conviction to the war's sanctified mission, ministers perpetuated the theology of "trench salvation," telling believers that an unsaved American who died in the trenches would yet find salvation solely for his sacrifice to a holy cause. According to J.S. Hartzler, one preacher told his congregants that "the man who goes into this war and sheds his blood to save his country, to protect your home and mine, to preserve the United States as the land of the free, is as much a savior of men as Jesus Christ was" (229).

The mainline churches' overwhelming support for the Great War increased public resentment for historic peace churches like the Mennonites, who believed a pacific Christ would never fling grenades, never squeeze a gun's trigger, never endorse "deal[ing] death to the enemy." Many citizens could not comprehend how some religious sects might argue against the war on religious grounds when the mainline churches provided seemingly compelling religious arguments for supporting the war. Because so many ministers assured their parishioners of the war's holy purpose, those who objected to warfare seemed even more disloyal, even worse than shirkers and slackers: they were the world's greatest sinners, refusing to hear God's call to arms. The Mennonites, for their own part, struggled to articulate clearly their biblically-based rejection of war. This struggle, coupled with their German heritage and their predominant impulse to remain separated from the outside world, precipitated repeated difficulties during the war. With the vast CPI propaganda machine in place, and with mainline churches embracing the religious necessity of the Great War, the Mennonites faced the wrath of fellow Christians, of the public, of the mob, and of the government.

For whatever their wartime necessity, the American government's construction of Espionage and then Sedition Acts became another means of encouraging suspicion of and intolerance for wartime dissenters. The Espionage Act, passed in July 1917, demanded costly fines and lengthy imprisonment for anyone who obstructed recruitment to the armed services or caused disloyalty or insubordination in the military; it also extended special privileges to the Postmaster General Albert Bursleson, who could refuse to mail any material which supported "treason, insurrection, or forcible resistance to any law of the United States" (qtd. in Knock 135). Eight months later an amendment to the Espionage Act became law. Known as the Sedition Act, it prohibited "any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language about the form of government of the United States, or the Constitution of the United States, or the flag of the United States, or the uniform of the Army or Navy" (Kennedy 80). Some have claimed the Espionage Act was "one of the most dangerous pieces of legislation ever written" (Johnson 55), a ready weapon for hammering at those who voiced seemingly disloyal or dissenting views about the war. Rights to freedom of speech were severely restricted so that a slur at the Army, made in passing, could warrant a \$10,000 fine and twenty years' imprisonment. With disloyalty now a crime, mobs and groups like the APL had even more reason to self-prosecute dissenters, acting under the auspices of governmental law. Americans referred their neighbors to justice officials for Espionage and Sedition violations; in some cases, family members testified against their kin. Opposition to the war seemingly became a high crime, with America's citizenry acting as the judge and jury.

Like other wartime opponents, Mennonites were often accused of transgressing Espionage and Sedition laws. While only a few Mennonites were tried and found guilty for seditious behavior; many others were accused of the crime, if not officially than by mobs who gathered outside their churches and homes. Mennonite publications were sometimes suspected of disseminating disloyalty; those published in German had to be translated and approved by a government agent before being sent to subscribers. In June 1918, an Old Mennonite tract called *Nonresistance* was seized, as the court warrant stated, for "willfully uttering, printing and

writing and publishing language to incite, provoke and encourage resistance to the U.S." (qtd. in Homan 75). To avoid persecution under the law, the Mennonite Publishing House agreed to refrain from distributing any tracts similar to *Nonresistance*, which had outlined the church's position about war. Thus Mennonites were again placed in a difficult position by the Espionage and Sedition Act. Their fellow citizens did not know or understand their biblical objection to war; attempts to articulate that objection were met with the accusation of sedition, especially as the war progressed and public pressure for uniformly loyal support for the war intensified. Hartzler, then-president of the Old Mennonite's Goshen College, said in 1918 that "In these days of patriotism, it is best that we do not say much about our position but quietly live it" (qtd. in Homan 60). "Quietly living" a nonresistance stance became, so it seems, increasingly difficult in a social and cultural milieu encouraging loud proclamations of loyalty to the war's cause.

The Mennonites were not of course the only ones to receive abuse during the war. Although their belief in nonresistance and nonconformity precipitated certain problems for Mennonites, like other ethnic groups the Mennonites of German ethnicity fell victim to the country's insidious intolerance for, as former president Theodore Roosevelt would say, "hyphenated Americans." Before the war's beginning, this intolerance had been muted. Progressivists embraced the burgeoning tide of immigrants, trying to make the hyphenated Americans more "American" through education, language instruction, and civics lessons; the progressivists argued such assimilation was necessary if immigrants wished to be happy and prosperous in their new country. However, the focus and tenor of this assimilation began to shift in 1914 and intolerance for, even suspicion of, immigrant Americans intensified as rumors of German atrocities and alien spies circulated in the press. President Wilson, so often a champion of good will, railed against some "hyphenated Americans" following *The Lusitania's* sinking and the death of 114 Americans:

There are citizens of the United States, born under other flags but welcomed under our generous naturalization laws to the full freedom and opportunity of America, who have poured the poison of disloyalty into the very

arteries of our national life . . . Such creatures of passion, disloyalty and anarchy must be crushed out. (qtd. in Kennedy 24)

Although his April 2, 1917, address to Congress suggested most German immigrants were in fact "true and loyal Americans," Wilson's feelings towards the country's varied ethnic groups became more ambiguous. He would argue, as would much of the country, that "100 percent Americanization" was necessary for wartime unity, for the security of soldiers, and for the ultimate success of America's democratic mission. Wilson's administration's policies, as well as his unwillingness to admonish those who attacked German-Americans (Kennedy 88), only fanned the fire of wartime hysteria already burning throughout the country.

In smaller ways, this intolerance precipitated almost humorous manipulations of language to eradicate all things German. The hamburger became known as a liberty sandwich, sauerkraut transformed into liberty cabbage, and the dachshund developed the new moniker of wiener dog. That the American public wanted to purge the German language from public and private discourse proved more troublesome, as did the methods by which such abolishment sometimes took place. Although some states erected laws forbidding the use of German in public settings, most attempts to quash German speakers were informal, the handiwork of vigilant citizens. Nonetheless, German-Americans felt it necessary to quit speaking German in worship services, to their friends and acquaintances on the street, even over the telephone. Schools obviously dropped German language instruction, at times because of political mandate, at times because of public pressure.

Public suspicion of German-Americans caused difficulty for Mennonites, especially those who still used a German dialect. Many Mennonites had relinquish speaking publicly in German, but those who yet utilized the language were often silenced by threats. Several churches received specific notices to cease worshipping in German: in Moundridge, Kansas, someone tacked a note to the door of the First Mennonite Church of Christian saying "No more German service will be allowed at this church." The Dallas, Oregon, National Chapter of Defense warned a Mennonite Church in its community to use English rather than German in its

services; the Church followed their demands, although the pastor resigned because he could only preach in German (Homan 63-64). Public pressure extended likewise to the many private German language schools established by Mennonites, and most closed their doors during the world war or in the least, changed their curriculum. At the General Conference Mennonite's Bethel College in North Newton, Kansas, the faculty bowed to intense public scrutiny and abolished German from its curriculum--this after students bunkered themselves in an administration building for security reasons (Homan 64).

German-Mennonite publications also fell under a cloud of suspicion, in small part because of their earlier support for Germany. After the United States declared war, these publications attempted to distance themselves from their previous statements, and presented the German-Mennonites as loyal American citizens who merely spoke German. As Susan Huxman details in her 1988 dissertation, one Mennonite publication, *Der Herold*, encouraged its readers to speak English:

Now English is our national language and everyone has to admit that. And as soon as a person wants to become a citizen of this country, he has to learn this language. He has to make every effort to do so . . . It is an unhealthy relationship if a man is a citizen of this country and then fights the learning of its language.

(translated in Huxman 165-66)

Der Herold's editor, C.E. Krehbiel, believed Mennonites would be more kindly accepted by the public if the Mennonites abandoned German for the predominant cultural language. However much they faced persecution for using German, though, the language was deeply entrenched in some Mennonites' identities, and so not easily relinquished. One writer to the *Der Herold* went so far as to assert Mennonitism and the English language were not "compatible" (translated in Huxman 165). Yet even among Mennonites who began speaking English, the German accent would remain and would quickly brand them, as was many times the case for conscientious objectors: those who spoke with a German accent often faced more difficulty in convincing skeptical military officials of their nonresistant stance.

The Mennonites' German ethnicity made the sect an easy target for traitor-seeking mobs and vigilantes. In many ways, though, it was the Mennonites' nonresistant stance and that stance's manifestation during the war, as well as their unwillingness to join the patriotic throng, which labeled them most as dissenting troublemakers; in this way, well-aculturated Mennonites with nary a trace of German in their voices joined their brethren to face the scorn of fellow citizens. For Mennonites across the country, even seemingly benign refusals to display flags or join patriotic celebrations met with outrage. Mennonites by and large believed themselves good, loyal citizens, and according to several accounts some hoped for an Allied victory. Nonetheless, Mennonites abstained from outward exhibitions of their loyalty for doctrinal reasons: they felt that hanging a flag in home or church showed an allegiance to the worldly kingdom of country over the heavenly kingdom of God. Many times, Mennonites were forced to display the flag by angry neighbors, or found flags nailed to their houses and churches against their will; such crusaders found support for the cause from none other than Teddy Roosevelt, who said that "the clergyman who does not put the flag above the church had better close his church and keep it closed" (qtd. in Abrams 194). Those who removed the flags sometimes inflamed public opinion to nearly deadly degrees, as was the case with Oklahoman John Reimer's hanging; strangled by an electric cord until he apologized for disloyal statements and kissed the flag he refused to display, Reimer escaped death only by an assistant police chief's intervention (Homan 70). In a Kansas church, four men wearing Army uniforms entered the Sunday morning service and erected a large American flag at the front; in an Ohio church, a crowd tacked a flag to the building's entrance, sang the "Star Spangled Banner," and left this threatening note:

To the members of this church. The manhood of America is fighting to make it possible for you to continue unmolested your services in this church. The removal of the Stars and Stripes from this house of worship will be taken as an indication that you desire to go on record as opposing those now fighting for you and will be taken as evidence that reports of un-American sentiment among members of this congregation are true. (qtd. in Homan 71)

The mob repeated this action in two other Ohio churches the same day, foisting the flag onto Mennonite congregations suspected of disloyalty. Though it is true that some Mennonites freely joined their neighbors in outward displays of patriotism, those who refused to do so for consciences' sake, whether American Mennonite or German-American Mennonite, faced charges of being German sympathizers and traitors, unwilling even to hang a flag as their part in the war effort.

The Mennonites' hesitancy to buy war bonds and to support agencies like the Red Cross and Y.M.C.A. provoked Americans' rage even more. Needing massive amounts of money to finance the war, the United States government issued bonds, euphemistically titled "Liberty Loans," in five different drives, from April 1917 to the last "Victory Loan" in March 1919. Each county received a quota of liberty bonds they were to sell, and drives were administered by local, often fiercely patriotic, committees, similar to the Red Cross donation committees established in each community. The government was aided in their attempts to have citizens "volunteer" money for the war by the CPI, which constructed a massive advertising campaign for Liberty Loan drives. Even clergy became the voice for Liberty Loan campaigns, telling their congregations:

If the Christ who was merciful to the harlot is conscious of the outraged womanhood and motherhood of France, with what utter scorn and contempt must he look upon that American citizen calling himself a follower of the lowly Nazarene who, having the means, still refuses to buy these bonds . . .

As you value your Christianity, buy these bonds. (qtd. in Harries 176)

Although words such as these were only modestly profitable for the government, they became an easy arsenal to challenge Christians who did not wish to buy war bonds.

The same line was taken against those who questioned providing monetary support for the Red Cross and Y.M.C.A. Mennonites struggled to decide whether their money could morally be apportioned to these groups, although these were considered benevolent agencies, involved in relief of the anguished millions in Europe. With the war's progression, it became increasingly

clear to some Mennonites that the Red Cross and Y.M.C.A. were but a part of the American war machine and that aid to them would be aid to the war. Mennonites remained divided over the issue: General Conference leaders believed giving money to these agencies would help alleviate human suffering, the purpose of Christian charity; Old Mennonites were more resistant to making donations, asserting that these agencies advanced the cause of war and encouraged immoral behavior among soldiers by selling cigarettes, holding dances, and showing movies. American patriots could easily argue that Mennonites' refusal to aid such war relief agencies was the height of hypocrisy and disloyalty; their reluctance to give the Red Cross money could be interpreted as both unchristian and as indirectly supporting the enemy.

As with Red Cross donations, many Mennonite leaders struggled to decide whether their constituency should buy Liberty Loans. They knew their tax dollars were being spent on the war, but believed they should follow Christ's words on this matter, rendering unto Caesar what was rightfully his. Liberty Loans posed a bit more of a problem. Should they likewise be considered taxes, payable to Caesar? Or were the Mennonites, by purchasing Liberty Loans, condoning--even aiding--the war effort? Mennonite thought on the issue was conflicted. Silas Grubb, editor of a General Conference publication, voiced the general opinion of his group that buying bonds offered support to the government, much like taxes; Old Mennonites tended to take a stronger line against such purchases. Yet in the end, many Mennonites succumbed to public pressure and bought Liberty Loans, if reluctantly. After the war, relief agencies like the American Friends Service Committee benefited from the money gained by these loans, as a majority of Mennonites would not accept the profits.

For their refusal to monetarily support the war effort, the Mennonites made themselves open for verbal and physical attack. And attack people did, often forcing others--through intimidation and threats--to purchase bonds and pay to American war agencies despite their conscientious objection to doing so. With the assistance of the presses which vocally supported Liberty Loan campaigns through advertisements and articles, local liberty organizations made sure few would escape "volunteering" their money for the war cause. Those who refused to

relinquish money were tar and feathered, faced lynching mobs, found their houses and churches painted yellow. Mennonites in communities across the continent faced such treatment, with the most serious infractions against Mennonites ranging from arson to the near-hanging of several. On some occasions the objectors' property was sold against their will and the money used to buy Liberty Loans. One war bond drive organizer told an Ohio crowd that the best way to deal with those who would not cooperate was with "an axe, a shovel and a halter . . . use the axe to kill the man, and the shovel to bury him, and . . . the halter to lead one of his cows to market. Then you'll have money to buy bonds" (qtd. in Juhnke, *Vision* 222). The organizer voiced well the sentiment predominating in America during all monetary campaigns, not only those designed to sell Liberty Loans.

As the war continued and as public scrutiny of wartime objectors intensified, Mennonites increasingly faced the wrath of their neighbors; for Mennonites, this discord was quite unsettling. For the most part, Mennonites longed to be viewed as loyal American citizens who contributed well to the country's prosperity and stability. In Great War America, however, being a loyal citizen also required vocal support for the war effort--something their consciences forbid them do. Sometimes Mennonites made concessions to public pressure in their quest for good community standing, displaying flags and buying war bonds, for example. Well aware that other citizens had made vast sacrifices for the war, Mennonites tried to show that they were making sacrifices too, relinquishing their material goods and their young men for the war effort. And in their publications, they reminded readers that their contributions as farmers helped further the war effort, even though such an admission suggested some culpability in perpetuating the war machine--and so went directly against the Mennonite creed of absolute nonresistance.

In a 1918 volume of *The Yale Review*, Ralph Barton Perry appropriately summarizes the American cultural climate at the time, and why that climate would prove so difficult for groups like the Mennonites. Perry writes: "You cannot expect to incite people to an emotional level at which they willingly give their lives or the lives of their sons, and at the same time have them view with cool magnanimity the indifference or obstructiveness of their neighbors" (670).

Although the Mennonites' nonresistance stance was more than "indifference" or "obstructiveness," few people saw it as anything but that. Faced with "one white-hot mass" of burning nativism, the Mennonites were in a quandary. They wanted to be loyal citizens hoping to make similar sacrifices for their country and wanted also to hold firm to nonresistance. Conflicts among church groups and individuals about what actions could conscientiously be taken failed to provide an united front against the masses. In addition, Mennonites struggled to voice clearly the deep historic and biblical roots of their pacifism in terms which could be accepted by America's citizens, who themselves believed the war a holy struggle with biblical precedence. Instead, in their quest to reconcile their nonresistant stance with their desire to appear as loyal members of society, Mennonites cast their church's doctrines in ways which aggravated their neighbors: by redefining patriotism as Christian love, peace and compassion; by expounding the significance of their historic martyrdom over America's wartime martyrs; by boasting of their own positive contributions to the war as farmers, while viewing other American sacrifices of men and artillery as negative contributions (Huxman). Their efforts only granted them further alienation from American society, of which they wanted to be a part even as they struggled to remain separated from the "worldly" kingdom of flags and Liberty Loans and patriotic songs. And in this struggle to remain separated, they often found themselves tormented and persecuted by neighbors who had their own principles to preserve.

When American men started their journeys to military camps and then were mobilized overseas, nativism reached its fevered pitch: rallies celebrated the induction of American young men; the CPI helped set the tone for those celebrations; monetary gifts to government and the Red Cross became a way to support the boys at home and overseas; American flags became a symbol of the great sacrifice families were making, sending their men off to war. Not only did Mennonites refrain from such patriotic displays, they also had no reason to celebrate, as they believed their young men were being forced against the will of God and of their consciences. Attempts to secure complete exemption from the draft having failed, Mennonites packed their sons off to war, believing that the men would face untold abuses for their unpopular stance,

certain that the men would not fight but not always sure what the cost of such refusal would be. This--the conscientious objectors and their place in the military--became the most decisive issue alienating Mennonites from American society. Others in America who were freely making the sacrifice of sons, fathers, and brothers resented the Mennonite pleas for exemption from equal sacrifice, and for good reason. The Mennonites were asking for freedom from fighting when the very fighting itself was an apparent means of guaranteeing that freedom. Far from being loyal Americans, they seemed "parasitic," "selfish," and "legalistic" (Juhnke, *Two Kingdoms* 109), asking their country to release them from this grave responsibility but openly accepting all other rights offered them by the country. More than anything else, then, the problems of conscientious objection caused Mennonites turmoil and consternation during the Great War--turmoil both external, as the Mennonites struggled to find their place in society, and internal, as Mennonite groups battled over definitions of nonresistance and the conscientious objector's role in military camps.

In the midst of this turmoil, Mennonite young men responded to the draft and boarded trains bound for military camps. The men left families behind, knowing their families would face similar persecution as what they would face in military camps, and that they could explain their nonresistant stance to military officials no better than their families had to angry neighbors. Some were certain that even their nonconformity in dress and appearance would make them ridiculed, as would their refusal to wear a uniform and their desire to accept noncombatant work--however their church leaders would define that term. The Mennonite young men surely sensed that life in camp would be lonely, and that they would feel isolated from most others in the camp, save for the brethren who shared their lot. As John Hege wrote in his diary, they were fearful of the "what next?", afraid of what each day would bring despite the seemingly stifling monotony which characterized most days. In some sense theirs would be an unique experience in an unprecedented point of United States history, yet they remained unaware that their stories, told through their diaries, would provide the voices necessary to help enrich the narrative of the Great War, and of the problematic conflict between conscience, culture, and the state.

The "Tragic Farewell": Mennonites, Conscription, Conscientious Objection

The soldier's good-bye, replayed in thousands of homes throughout America during the Great War, is easily imaginable, the scene made memorable by countless Hollywood war movies. The young man must report to war, his duty after all, and so bids a tearful adieu to those whom he loves, promising to return a hero, unscathed by the brutalities he will face. For Mennonite conscientious objectors, leaving home for military camps seemingly replicated this Hollywood scenario--or so their writing suggests. Consider, for example, the first entries of Gustav Gaeddert's diary. On Sept. 18, 1917, Gaeddert, 21 and a primary school teacher in Inman, Kansas, is called to war and must report to Camp Funston, Kansas, in three days. He spends the last morning as a teacher bidding his pupils farewell. They part "with tears in our eyes." The next day he takes leave of his siblings then journeys to the McPherson train depot, where he must abandon his parents for the military camp; his mother "especially took it [his parting] hard." He boards the train bound for camp, leaving behind his saddened family, friends, and pupils. The moment of departure is painful: "Oh what a tragic farewell I had to endure when we left" (149). Gaeddert was among the first Mennonite men called to military duty; his "tragic farewell" would be replicated again and again over the next fourteen months. Men tearfully left for the military as their families, sometimes including wives and children, waved from the train depot. For many Mennonite conscientious objectors these sad departures--so often the material of wartime literature and film--opened the Great War diaries they kept, suggesting the significance of this initial step in their journey from the comforts of home and community to the frightening unfamiliarity of a foreign land.

The journey itself had been engineered for them by the United States Government, which had, shortly after the war's declaration, constructed and then passed the Selective Service Act. This act ensured the first mass conscription on American soil, "to be remembered as one of the most conspicuous moments in our history," President Wilson would say in outlining the law for the country's people (*Source Records* 188). Although Wilson had once believed conscription

would undermine American principles of individual freedom and choice, the prolonged struggle on the Western Front, which had siphoned off many of Europe's most talented men, had convinced him otherwise. He now saw that American intervention necessitated a massive military force, much larger than the National Guardsmen and volunteer military recruits that then constituted the American armed forces. Conscription would thus be imperative if the United States wished to make the world safe for democracy. Despite President Wilson's convictions that a draft was essential, the Selective Service Act he proposed in early April 1917 met with reservations from many camps within Congress, from those who feared conscription cast a "great shadow of militarism" over the land to those who resisted any form of government coercion, of which they believed conscription was one (Beaver 30). Echoing the concerns of varied congressmen, members of other peace groups came to Washington to testify against conscription. Mennonites were not among them.

Instead, several Mennonite groups convened their own meeting in North Newton, Kansas, on April 10-11, 1917, attempting to outline their policies regarding conscription.⁵ Although a draft appeared imminent, the statement they constructed remained decidedly vague: because of their nonresistant stance Mennonites should not participate in war, though the church also should support those wishing to serve in the Red Cross or in medical corps. The policy failed to outline exactly what "participation" in war constituted, and to what extent young men could live and work under military jurisdiction without violating their consciences. Nonetheless, after the meeting a few delegates left for Washington, D.C., to speak with congressmen about Mennonite concerns. There, they found at least two other delegations of Mennonites acting in their own groups' interests: while one band of Mennonite representatives told legislators their men would accept any military duty save bearing arms, another presented congressmen with a more narrow policy, asserting their men would refuse any type of military duty, including noncombatant work (Homan 44-45). This would become the first of many occasions in which

⁵Delegates at that meeting were from the General Conference's Western District, the Krimmer Mennonite Brethern, Mennonite Brethern, Holdeman Mennonites, and Defenseless Mennonites.

Mennonites, lacking a united front and a consistent definition of nonresistance, perhaps weakened their stance; because different Mennonite groups offered their own interpretation of the nonresistance doctrine, it became seemingly more flimsy, more ephemeral.

At any rate, the Mennonites' varied concerns about the draft as well as the concerns of others little impeded the institution of compulsory military service, which became law on May 18, 1917. The act required that all men ages 21 to 30 register for the draft, despite any infirmities or objections which might hinder their abilities to fight. Refusal to register was punishable as a crime; so too was aiding another in avoiding duty or failing to report for duty when called. In his presidential proclamation establishing conscription, given May 18, Wilson outlined both the procedural elements of the draft as well as the importance of conscription. On June 5, 1917, men would be required to register at area polling stations and would then be deemed fit or unfit for induction into the army by local boards of citizens acting at the War Department's behest. Executing this law was necessary; because modern warfare has "changed the face of war," a nation--rather than an army--must be "trained for war," he said. "The nation needs all men," President Wilson continued, and the day of registration is "nothing less than the day upon which the manhood of the country shall step forward in one solid rank in defense of the ideals to which this nation is consecrated." Therefore, Wilson argued, the conscription was not a coercion of "the unwilling; it is, rather, selection from a nation which has volunteered in mass." Wilson called on Americans to participate in registering their men, believing it a patriotic "duty" for all citizens "to see to it that the name of every male person of the designated ages is written on these lists of honor" (*Source Records* 188).

For Mennonites, President Wilson's proclamation dealt a stunning blow. They did not wish to "volunteer in mass," nor did they want their names on any "lists of honor." In many ways, they felt misled by their government who, they had believed, would assure them complete exemption from the military; indeed, a few Mennonites argued they had received such assurances even before immigrating to America and that the promise of military exemption should still

hold.⁶ C.E. Krehbiel, writing in the Mennonite publication *Der Herold*, voiced this deep disappointment about the Selective Service Act: "We did not believe that that was possible in the United States" (qtd. in Juhnke, *Two Kingdoms* 97). Instead of granting Mennonites exemption from conscription, however, the Selective Service Act required that all religious objectors join other male citizens in registering. Then, according to rule 14, section 79 of the act:

Any registrant who is found by a Local Board to be a member of any well-recognized religious sect or organization organized and existing May 18, 1917, and whose then existing creed or principles forbid its members to participate in war in any form, and whose religious convictions are against war or participation therein in accordance with the creed or principles of said religious organization, shall be furnished by such Local Board with a certificate to the effect [that] . . . he can only be required to serve in a capacity declared by the President to be noncombatant. (*Source Records* 188)

While this provision received wide-spread criticism from peace societies because of its limited scope--only members of well-established religious organizations would be granted conscientious objector status--the Mennonites were more concerned about the vagueness of its wording.⁷ They would be forced to serve in noncombatant roles, yet those had yet to be decided by President Wilson, and noncombatancy would not be defined for nearly another year. Not only did the Mennonites feel betrayed by a government they assumed would provide them complete exemption, they now also harbored a degree of uncertainty about the Selective Services Act, about how it would be implemented and about what the government might force conscientious objectors to do once they had registered. Michael Klaassen, an Oklahoma Mennonite minister,

⁶A Beatrice, Nebraska, Mennonite Congregation wrote this to President President Wilson on March 31, 1917: "During the year 1873, we sent several of our leading men as delegates to America to spy out the land and to inform themselves regarding the, to us, all important matter of freedom from military service. They were assured by high American officials, including President [Ulysses] Grant, that we would never have to fear compulsory conscription." (qtd. in *The Mennonite* , 13 Sept 1917: 1.)

⁷In December 1917, the government changed its policies to include others who were not religious but had "personal scruples against the war."

wrote in his diary that rumors flourished in Mennonite communities to combat this uncertainty. Mennonites seemed to be grasping for straws, hoping for the best in what could be, for them, a difficult situation. Thus, they told each other that all farmers would be exempt from conscription or that all religious objectors would still be exempt. Klaassen, however, remained skeptical, sensing that Mennonites were being "intentionally confused" by the government's "innocent-sounding promises" respecting conscientious objection to the war. "Yet," he wrote on June 3, 1917, "without proof [we] can only take these men at their word. So, despite our misgivings, we have told our people not to panic, the government intends to treat us fairly. No one will have to do anything against his conscience, Washington promised" (10). Homan reports that throughout the summer of 1917 Mennonites sustained an optimism similar to Klaassen's, "hoping that somehow the government would interpret its law so generously and liberally that their young men might still escape all military obligation" (49), hoping, perhaps, that they could serve their country outside the military as farmers and relief workers. After all, they believed with a seemingly naive faith in legislative process, Washington had promised.

June 5th arrived, and Mennonite men joined millions of Americans in registering for the draft. Despite other disagreements, Mennonite groups had all decided their young men should report for registration as well as for military camps. Doing so not only reflected the Mennonites' general desire to remain within the bounds of civil law if possible, but it also "meant that Mennonite conflict with legal authority on the draft question was removed from the local community and from the processes of civil law" and into the realm of military law, thus changing the relationship of Mennonites to the government, both local and national (Juhnke, *Two Kingdoms* 97). Unlike others, most Mennonite conscripts could little enjoy the celebratory atmosphere of the local registration sites, where bands played patriotic ditties and charming women handed out flags to America's newest heroes. Still, Mennonites had already prepared their young men for this day, schooling them in appropriate responses when facing their local boards; a pamphlet, published in mid-May 1917, used both German and English to instruct men in what to say to local boards in addition to providing scripture supporting their religious

objection to the war (Homan 50). At the local boards, citizens had two ways to register their objections to military service. On their registration cards, men could claim exemption from combat based on religious belief; they could also ask for noncombatant status by filling out governmental form 174. To further substantiate that they were indeed members of a "well-recognized religious sect," and that they had been since before May 18, 1917, the Mennonites included church certificates of membership with their registrations. Well taught by ministers and other church leaders, Mennonite men maneuvered through registration day via these avenues. After this, their fates were in the hands of War Secretary Newton Baker and of local draft boards.

Baker initiated the draft process during a celebration in Washington, drawing from a glass bowl slips of papers inscribed with registration numbers. Men who had been designated the first number drawn, 258, would report first to their draft boards. These boards, comprised predominantly of local community members, examined the registrants and declared them eligible or exempt. Few people could receive complete exemption: only those who were state and government officials, those with dependents, the physically or economically infirm, and armory employees. Again, religious objectors could be exempt from combatant, but not noncombatant, service; their local draft boards issued them certificates endorsing their claim for conscientious objection to combatant duty. Ostensibly appointed by the president but in reality by state and local officials, the draft boards were driven by both patriotic and political motivation and nearly always reflected the ideologies of the district's elected government leaders. Therefore, men who received exemption in one district would not be exempted in another, depending on the partisan nature of their local boards. In some places, too, local draft boards treated conscientious objectors more leniently than in other places. Homan reports that in parts of Pennsylvania, boards viewed applications "with exceptional sympathy. If such registrants had scruples against fighting, the boards apparently considered them to be more useful at home on the farm than in the military" (50); and so, on the farm they stayed. Other boards looked upon conscientious objectors far less favorably, ignoring their claims for exemption from combat on religious grounds and granting neither economic nor dependency exemptions to those who seemed to

qualify. Hence, the dependency exemption was applied liberally in some areas and conservatively in the next, so that some men left wives and children since their draft boards had decided they were not "dependent" on their husbands' or fathers' incomes. Many Hutterites faced this difficulty, their livelihoods as husbands and fathers virtually ignored by the draft boards they faced. Hostetler, a Mennonite whose diary appears in this volume, in some districts would have received a dependent exemption because he was newly married.

After appearing before the draft boards, men could only wonder and worry about their fates like every other American draftee; throughout the summer of 1917, they anticipated the call to report for duty. While they waited, Mennonite leaders continued to work on the conscientious objectors' behalf, sending delegations to Washington and hoping for a miracle of sorts: that President Wilson would interpret "noncombatant" in the loosest sense, that their men could serve outside the military establishment or, miracle of all miracles, that Mennonites would still receive complete exemption. As before, though, Mennonites did not present Washington with a unified force. Representatives of the General Conference Mennonites, Mennonite Brethren, and Krimmer Mennonite Brethren told governmental leaders they would accept service in agricultural or the Red Cross and failing that, might even agree to do noncombatant work. Their rather liberal offer of service elicited little response from Washington but contradicted the far more absolutist position of other groups. Old Mennonites again took a firmer stance in their discussions with government authorities, rejecting any form of duty under military governance, combatant or noncombatant. At their own meeting on August 29, 1917, in Indiana, Old Mennonites constructed a statement representing the group's intentions for their conscientious objectors: they would under "no circumstance" accept duty within the military, though what constituted "duty" was ill defined. Delegates then took that statement to Washington and to Baker, who agreed with them that conscientious objectors could be segregated in their own detention units, did not have to wear uniforms or drill, and would not be forced to "serve in any capacity that violated their creed and conscience," but "could be assigned to other tasks not under the military arm of the government" ("Mennonites on Military Service" 421). For his own part

Baker was motivated by the goal of getting Mennonites into camps and then perhaps changing their minds about conscientious objection, or at least about accepting noncombatant work.

Therefore in meetings with various delegations he led

Mennonites of both conciliatory and uncompromising inclination to conclude that it was best to register in the draft, to report for duty, and to await an order from the War Department defining 'non-combatant service' in a way which would make it possible for them to work in good conscience. (Juhnke, *Two Kingdoms* 100)

The Mennonites, trusting Baker, believed again that "Washington promised" and what Washington promised, it would deliver.

By early fall the United States government still had not issued any statement which clearly established the fate of conscientious objectors once they reached military camps. In fact, Baker informed Mennonite leaders that they had misinterpreted him, and that conscientious objectors who refused to serve could not work outside the military domain, but would be forced to stay in detention camps to await, Baker said, "such disposition as the government may decide upon" (Homan 54). President Wilson also had not defined what "noncombatant work" was, and so conscientious objectors were not sure what they would or would not be asked to do at the camps. But then again, neither had many Mennonite sects decided, with absolute certainty, what their men should and should not do once they were inducted. Indeed, some General Conference Mennonites assumed that since the President "had not declared what is non-combatant service[,] Non-resistants will probably not be called upon for service until after such declaration" (qtd. in Juhnke, *Two Kingdoms* 99). With such seemingly naive faith in the government's policy-making ability and without definite statements about the conscientious objectors' role in military camps, the Mennonites had yet to answer questions soon facing their young men: Would wearing a military uniform violate their nonresistant stance? Would drilling? Would hauling trash for the camp constitute military service? Would cleaning one's barrack or cooking in the mess? The first Mennonite conscientious objectors reporting in late summer 1917 were placed in an

unenviable position, uncertain of what the government would ask of them but uncertain too what the church expected of them. Most, especially at first, let their own consciences be their guides when deciding what type of work they could do, whether they could accept a uniform or report for drill. Although following one's individual conscience closely reflected the spirit of *conscientious* objection, such individual choices would cause more problems for the Mennonites.

Mennonite men began receiving their induction notices in late August, commanding them to report for military duty. The notices applied language similar to that which President Wilson had used in announcing conscription, a way to imbue induction with a sense of patriotic honor: "Greeting: Having submitted yourself to a local board composed of your neighbors for the purpose of determining the place and time in which you can best serve the United States in the present emergency, you are hereby notified that you have been selected for immediate military service" (qtd. in Shank 5). Often men were required to report a scant few days after receiving notice, certainly saving them prolonged good-byes with loved ones (and probably saving them much chance to lose heart and flee). Whether recognized by their local boards as conscientious objectors or not, Mennonite men faced induction procedures similar to every other conscript in the United States military, beginning with a train ride to one of the country's thirty cantonments, stretching from Camp Meade, Maryland, in the east, to Camp Travis, Texas, in the south, and Camp Lewis, Washington, in the northwest.

The train ride itself must have been a harrowing experience for some Mennonites. Placed in rail cars with regular inductees, Mennonite men often faced extended journeys alone, feeling already a longing for the communities they had left, feeling already a sense of alienation from those around them. For many the train ride was their introduction to the "carnal" world from which their ethnic upbringing had shielded them, a confrontation of sorts between two kingdoms in which the worldly kingdom proved overwhelming to those unfamiliar with it. The Mennonite inductees aboard the trains were predominantly quiet, humble, simply dressed and, in some cases, spoke English with a German accent or not at all. There were newly-inducted

soldiers, on the other hand, who spent their journeys to military camps hollering, using profanities, smoking, playing cards, shooting craps, and drinking. All unthinkable vices for Mennonites, all forbidden in their communities. E.E. Leisy writes in his 1960 autobiographical sketch about the "Comanche yells" emitted from train windows, the "war-whoop of democracy" shouted by soldiers and received well by those who heard them, the "girls . . . greeted lustily" as the train passed by, soldiers hanging out its windows (3). From the distance of fifty years, his words become freighted with irony, the warriors yelling from the train as humorous as those who interpret the patriotic glory in the soldiers' "lusty" greetings. With far less ironic distance, John Hege notes in his diary a man so drunk he was "staggering" and could "barley walk with satisfaction"; confronted with this inebriated man, Hege writes that if ever he needed the "company" of "Brethren . . . it was now" (2, emphasis his). Emanuel Swartzendruber, in an oral narration of World War I experiences, recalls his unpleasant encounter with the world aboard a train bound for Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia:

After breathing in second handed smoke for two days I almost got sick. One said to me, Why don't you smoke? Join in; because this might be your last chance; you might not even come back any more. You might as well have a good time. But I was there by myself. I was the only CO and I had something else that I was thinking about. (2)

In a way, Swartzendruber relates, he was glad to arrive at camp, despite his loneliness and a fear of the unknown future: he could "get out of the coach" and "away from the smoke" (2).

Often times Mennonite conscientious objectors had to make the journey to camp alone amidst the worldly soldiers. If fortunes proved good, they might meet Mennonite brethren with whom they could commune, a discovery providing them some comfort. Faced with the "confusion" of a lonely train ride to Camp Lee, Virginia, Clarence Shank writes in his 1963 autobiography that "It affords me much satisfaction to know I am not alone, as there are at least five Mennonite boys on this train and also a few of other nonresistant faiths, and again could I not claim the promise my God had made to others, 'I will never leave thee nor forsake thee'?" (9).

In this, Shank echoes Hege's thanksgiving to God for providing "his spirit of comfort" during Hege's potentially lonely military induction; Hege is assured God "promised never to leave nor forsake his own" (4). Noah Leatherman records a similar experience. Although he "had expected to be alone" on his sojourn to Camp Funston, he discovered several General Conference Mennonites waiting at the McPherson, Kansas, train depot, and this meeting gave him "new courage" (5). Still, despite the solidarity afforded by this like-company the train journeys became the first of many instances in which Mennonite conscientious objectors found themselves in the discomfiting position of being aliens in a strange land, unused to its customs and mores, separated by cultural differences, yes, but by differences in conscience as well.

After rides spanning from a few hours to a few days, trains filled with inductees arrived at the hastily built cantonments which housed and trained the new American army. Erected in only a few months, the military camps resembled small cities, some populated by 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants. Rows upon rows of barracks sheltered the young men, barracks which appeared to Shank as "large two-story chicken house[s]" (10). Cots were crammed into each barrack so that a man had little personal space and even less privacy. Especially in southern climes where shelter was not as essential, the camps supplied the men tents big enough to house eight or more soldiers; these tents were likewise used by places where barracks had yet to be built. Mess halls, latrines, canteens, office buildings, and Y.M.C.A. and Red Cross clubs also dotted the military camp landscape, as did vast fields intended for drill. For rural men accustomed to open spaces and the solitude of farm life, the crowded barracks and sustained activity would require some climatization. So too would the guards patrolling the camps with guns, the loud booms of artillery fire echoing from practice ranges, and the continued profanity of military men which made even praying difficult, according to Swartzendruber. Hutterite Jacob Waldner writes that the "miles" of "armed soldiers marching and shouting" had a chilling effect on him: "it went through bone and marrow. We had never in our life seen so much of this miserable world at one time" (4). As Shank walked through Camp Lee after detraining, as he looked at the chicken coops in which he would live and at the armed soldiers marching by, he

again felt pangs of loneliness. In this foreign environment, he was "longing to see someone to whom I would deem it proper to introduce myself" (10). Until he settled into his new company he would find no one appropriate for such an introduction.

By the time men began arriving at military camps, antagonism towards conscientious objectors had already enveloped the country. This venom was fueled in part one must imagine by the general tenor of war hysteria, by the conviction that everyone must do his part in the war for democracy, but also by the invectives of military and governmental leaders whose words against conscientious objectors found prominent display in national presses. Thus former president Roosevelt's indictment of conscientious objectors as "sexless creatures" and "half-hidden traitors" (qtd. in Peterson and Fite 14), given voice in the nation's preeminent periodicals including the *New York Herald*, not only reflected the country's sentiment but also influenced it; so too did his belief that conscientious objectors "are actuated by lazy desire to avoid any duty that interferes with their ease and enjoyment, some by the evil desire to damage the United States and help Germany, some by sheer, simple, physical timidity" (Hart and Ferleger 100-01). Within military camps, opinion was shaped by leaders like Commanding Officer Leonard Wood (Camp Funston), career military men who believed conscientious objectors were in his words "enemies of the Republic, fakers, and active agents of the enemy" (qtd. in Chambers 33). Truth be told, other commanding officers and high-ranking military officials, whatever their opinion of conscientious objectors, treated them with more respect than Wood, whose camp was "notorious for its mistreatment of COs" (Kohn 29). Nonetheless many soldiers, driven by the convictions of their country's leaders and by their own sense of patriotic duty, endeavored to make life for new conscientious objector inductees intolerable. The objectors were, after all, anti-American sexless fakers, and had no place in this man's army.

Hence at their new homes, as Mennonite men followed other draftees through the process of induction they faced difficulties at nearly every step. Their simple dress and quiet unwillingness to participate in train ride festivities probably branded them immediately. If not, they were quickly recognized as conscientious objectors by what they said to commanding

officers, to whom they registered their objection to do combatant work, to wear uniforms, and/or to drill. Those who agreed to these three military obligations usually faced no more abuses, and were given noncombatant duties (for example, in the medical corps., in sanitation, as cooks in mess halls); those who rejected one or all three faced further mistreatment. High-ranking military officers usually had no role in the "initiation rites" inflicted on Mennonites who, during initial processing, "encountered kicks, stabs with a pen, yellow paint, or attempted humiliation" from other soldiers; this abuse only subsided when an officer intervened (Shields 262).

However, officers were sometimes scarce--John Neufeld reports in his diary that one officer seemed always absent or sleeping--and Mennonites were left to defend themselves against mistreatment. Their general lack of knowledge about military hierarchy and procedure only made them more vulnerable: To whom could they safely report abuses? Who could rightfully give them orders? Therefore, while their own alienation was intensified by "attempted humiliation" which separated them further from other soldiers, they also could little understand the military language or culture (what exactly was a muster?), which precipitated further humiliation, and so isolation. Such was the conscientious objectors' introduction to the military.

Along with their fellow inductees, Mennonite conscientious objectors relinquished their clothing and were compelled to bathe on arriving at camp. Sometimes, they were forcibly shaved and given a haircut; for Hutterites and Amish, such treatment was especially offensive, as wearing a beard was part of their faith. The Hutterite Waldner reported that "twelve brethren" were taken by soldiers and given "an ice cold shower under a water faucet. They used coarse brushes and soap on them and rubbed soap all over them including mouth and eyes in order to torture them" (3). The icy shower or some variation thereof (ice water then hot, or ice water coupled with stiff brushes) became one way to torment conscientious objectors, to compel them to do noncombatant work against their wills or to don uniforms and drill. Or at least Mennonite men reporting their experiences felt that this was so. Others believed differently. George E. English, historian for the 89th division housed at Camp Funston, wrote that the "icy bath in the small hours of the cool nights of early fall was a splendid test of the qualities of the embryo

soldier," and therefore was applied to Mennonite objectors and regular soldiers alike (qtd. in Shields 261). Sarah Shields, writing about the treatment of conscientious objectors at Camp Funston, agrees, arguing that when the "Mennonites frequently referred to icy showers as abuse," they were merely not used to the bohemian life of a military camp without water heaters and heating systems (261). Another clash of cultures? Did Mennonites merely misinterpret as abuse ice showers that were, in actuality, a hazing ritual for new soldiers or a lack of modern conveniences? Perhaps. However, considering that Mennonites in their simple rural lives were well used to foregoing the accouterments of modernity, and considering that Mennonites faced abuse via water (both ice cold and boiling hot) far after their induction as "embryo" soldiers, Shields's assertion seems questionable. Instead, this foray into military hygiene became but one method of provocation used sometimes by petty officers and soldiers to force conscientious objectors to comply to military orders, or as a form of torment if they refused.

After a shower and a shave--undergone willingly or not--newly inducted draftees were given uniforms. If the camp had not been issued uniforms, as was at first the case in some places, the men received blue overalls. Mennonites were faced with another problem: would wearing a military uniform violate their consciences, make them soldiers, represent an acquiescence to military authority? In some cases, they decided the answer was yes and they refused to accept the uniforms; others wore the uniforms at first before changing their minds; others still had no scruples against the uniform. The uniform quandary was soon solved by Secretary of War Baker, who constructed a surprisingly definitive policy for Mennonite conscientious objectors. In a letter to Mennonite leader Aaron Loucks in early fall, 1917, Baker's Adjutant General wrote "all Commanding Generals of the national Army and National Guard Divisions" have been ordered "that selected Mennonites who report to camps for duty be not forced to wear the uniform, as the question of raiment is one of the tenets of their faith" (L.A. Dewey 523). Mennonites, it seemed, had achieved a small victory in their struggles with the government, and could retain their civilian clothes in camps.

Of course, as was the case often with conscientious objectors, officers and soldiers sometimes failed to yield to Baker's edict and forced Mennonite men to put on their uniforms. Such was the experience of Adam Mumaw, who arrived at Camp Zachary Taylor, Kentucky, nearly one year after Baker's ruling. In his 1970 autobiographical sketch he writes:

I was taken to the supply tent and offered a uniform or else . . . I refused to accept not wanting to be identified as a soldier. [The corporal] hollered to the group, take him. I was reminded of what the mob said of Jesus "Crucify him." Aside were a group of men surrounded a blanket holding on to the edge. The first grout threw me into the blanket and at the signal gave a sudden jerk which threw me into the air and caught me as I landed. The second attempt I got a grip on the edge and was tossed into the crowd. ("My Experience" 6)

After this, when Mumaw still refused the uniform, the mob of men stripped him of his clothes, and were stopped only when a lieutenant appeared and ordered the melee to cease. Hostetler faced similar hostilities at Camp Funston, Kansas, again long after Baker ruled wearing a uniform was not compulsory for Mennonites. On the day of his induction, he wrote in his diary "it was almost impossible not to wear the uniform but thru Jesus our Lord I got thru, only after having the uniform forced onto me for several hrs. They put overalls into my sack and uniform on me but I changed when I got a chance, put overall and jumper on and uniform into sack" (207). Several days later, the men in Hostetler's barrack "made sport" of him by taking his clothes and several personal letters after foisting a uniform on him. He found a sergeant, who told the soldiers "if he had his way about it I'd go without clothes, but boys this mans clothes will come back tonight, I know he's h--- to live with but he'll be taken care of sooner or later" (209). Forced by his bunk mates to don a uniform he was not by the government mandated to wear, and mocked by his sergeant, Hostetler must have felt again an acute sense of isolation, separated both from the men who "enjoyed" tormenting him and from his "darling sweetheart wife" (207), now miles away.

Hostetler's fate was shared by many conscientious objectors who were put into units with regular soldiers on arrival at camp. In the first months of conscription, the government approved no plan for segregation of conscientious objectors, apparently believing that conscientious objectors placed in barracks with fighting men would discover the valour they lacked and so would renounce their nonresistant ways and accept combatant or, in the least, noncombatant duty. However, military officials had failed to calculate the resiliency of many conscientious objectors and the depths of Mennonite faith in nonresistance. It is true that some conscientious objectors, including Mennonites, chose to join the regular soldiers with whom they bunked, taking positions in the military inconsonant with a nonresistant stance: of the 21,000 conscripted as conscientious objectors in the Great War, only 3,900 remained steadfast in their convictions and refused to accept even noncombatant duty. The most famous of the converted objectors, Alvin York, would find fame in Western Front heroics, supporting propaganda claims that conscientious objectors could convert into courageous soldiers. To a greater extent, though, military officials began to understand that housing conscientious objectors with other conscripts threatened soldier morale. Draftees who refused to drill or wear a uniform and who sometimes shared with bunkmates their testimony of nonresistance might infect other soldiers, who would themselves either embrace conscientious objection too or, more likely, would resent those who refused to work and who shirked their patriotic obligation.

By the beginning of October, 1917, Baker had decided conscientious objectors should be segregated from other conscripts. Reports from various military camps encouraged Baker that few problems had occurred between conscientious objectors, military officials, and soldiers. A personal visit to Camp Meade supported these reports, although there, conscientious objectors had already been segregated and the camp had little problem with mistreatment. Conversations with the conscientious objectors convinced Baker they were "simple-minded" and "lazy and obstinate," and that only two were mentally normal (Johnson 31). Nonetheless, he wrote to President Wilson,

If it gets no worse than it is at Camp Meade, I am pretty sure that no harm will come in allowing these people to stay at the camps, separated from the life of the camp but close enough to gradually understand. The effect of that I think quite certainly would be that a substantial number of them would withdraw their objection and make fairly good soldiers. (qtd. in Palmer 342)

With this consideration, Baker constructed a new policy ordering camp commanders to create segregated units for conscientious objectors "under supervision of instructors who shall be specially selected with a view of insuring that these men will be handled with tact and consideration" (Johnson 31). Government officials felt this order would prevent soldier morale from eroding, as conscientious objectors would be removed from the conscripts-in-training. Perhaps more significantly, they hoped the "tact and consideration" of officers and kind handling might convince conscientious objectors to forego their nonresistant stance and accept the life of a soldier, either through combatant or noncombatant work.

Despite Baker's mandate, many conscientious objectors remained in regular units for various reasons and for varied periods of time. Sometimes, the conscientious objector barracks were placed under quarantine (as were regular barracks) to combat the spread of rampant diseases crippling army camps; conscientious objectors new to camp might be asked to stay in combat units until the quarantine lifted. More problematic, though, were the camps where officials never told conscientious objectors about the ruling, thereby forcing objectors to stay in units with other inductees and so face the wrath of their fellow soldiers. Especially in the early months of American intervention, Mennonite men did not always know about Baker's orders and so could not challenge their placement in combat units. Later, Mennonite leaders schooled their men in governmental rulings, making it more difficult for military officials to take advantage of or ignore the segregated mandate for conscientious objectors.

In the least, conscientious objectors would be forced into combat units for their first few days in camp, until they were granted an audience with military officials to announce their conscientious objection and to provide supporting documents, including church membership

certificates and notices from local boards identifying their nonresistant stance. Finding such an audience could prove difficult and timely; the men were thus compelled to stay in their assigned units for a few days at minimum, often without the company of other brethren. In his autobiography, Shank explains the complexity of tracking down officers who could have him relocated to segregated barracks. Put into a tent with other soldiers, he began looking for someone "to whom I could explain my belief." After writing down his declaration of nonresistance, he gave the paper to several people who appeared authoritative, but they did nothing. Finally, someone explained the way lieutenants--the officers most able to help him--dress. Shank thereby unlocked the code of military hierarchy, based on uniforms and stripes; he figured he had been talking with petty officers, who could do nothing for him. Shank's experience suggests that once again unfamiliarity with a foreign military culture might cause problems for Mennonite conscientious objectors, who could spend days consigned to barracks filled with hostile soldiers all the while seeking appropriate officials who might alleviate the uncomfortable situation. For Shank at least, finding a lieutenant was a blessing, as he felt "a great burden [was] rolled away" by the meeting (12).

Whether in combat units for several days or for several months, life among other conscripts was especially isolating for conscientious objectors. Other soldiers preparing for war fast became friends with their comrades in the barracks and, proving there is strength in numbers, ganged up on the lone conscientious objectors who shared their bunks. The pressure to fold, to renounce nonresistance, to drill, or to accept some kind of work within the camps was acute; those who would not succumb to the pressure faced even more ridicule and sometimes even greater abuse by fellow soldiers and by officers, from ice water treatments to being chased at gun point. Conscientious objectors who yet refused to drill or to work were often not allowed on their bunks while others trained. Instead, they had to sit on the floor or stand outside their barracks for hours, even in the most inclement weather. Waldner reports that some men in his camp stood in the cold yard all day, their clothes marked with a large "E" for "Enemy," subjected to the taunts and jeers of soldiers. Seeming innocuous verbal tirades also isolated conscientious

objectors from their fellow conscripts: accusations laced with profanity of being anti-American slackers stung Mennonites who valued hard work, who believed themselves loyal Americans. Norman Thomas, a socialist pacifist who worked tirelessly on the part of objectors during the Great War, says this of the objectors' time in combat units: "Any one with imagination enough to picture the isolation of the individual in a cantonment humming with soldiers will understand that to persist in objection took tremendous moral conviction" or "an abnormal indifference to environment" (94). The Mennonite conscientious objectors' writing suggests they were not "indifferent" to the difficult "environment" of military camps, not to the invectives of angry soldiers nor to the abuses they received. Still most Mennonites, impelled by "moral conviction" to endure the isolation, did not fold to soldier pressure, and instead waited anxiously for the day they could be transferred to a segregated unit, to be among their brethren resisters. And until that day came, they were fortified by visits from conscientious objectors living in nearby barracks who also sought the company of like-minded believers, even if they were strangers in every other sense.

Because of this isolation, the relief finally felt when transferred to a conscientious objector unit must have been immense. Of his own transfer to a segregated barrack, Shank says this:

How happy I was to get my few belongings together, and leave this place, into which environment I could not properly fit anyway, and with several others walk some distance across Camp Lee to a more isolated place. The expression of David seemed applicable to me also. 'For I am a stranger with thee, and a sojourner, as all my fathers were' (Psa. 39:12). (19)

After extended time with soldiers living a foreign ethos, it was nice to be among those with similar values, if only the shared value of conscientious objection to war. Mennonites, after all, were not the only objectors placed in segregated units. Indeed, any one barrack could house a full spectrum of theologies, ethnicities, and cultures. In addition to the sixteen different Mennonite groups, there might also be Quakers, Adventists, Russellites, Dunkards,

Christadelphians, and Socialists, among others. Although different conscientious objectors sometimes disagreed about the reasoning for their objection to war, that objection itself forged a brotherhood of sorts, placing those with opposing theologies in the same ranks; despite such diversity, there was rarely any serious discord within conscientious objector units, as the men shared both a common misery and a common place as despised members of the military community.

Secretary of War Baker's edict that segregated conscientious objector units be commanded by officers with "tact and consideration" was not followed in all camps and caused certain difficulty many places. Abuse of conscientious objectors continued, carried out by angry officers and by the camp's soldiers. Military men were upset that "slackers" would not have to shoulder a weapon and face the trenches, would not do service for their countries, would not make similar sacrifices of life and livelihood. Passions inflamed further when some conscientious objectors refused even to perform any type of duty within camps, including seemingly benign chores like hauling trash or cutting grass. Military officials could not reasonably appreciate conscientious objectors who refused these noncombatant jobs. Their frustration would intensify when a few Mennonites agreed to haul trash and others refused for conscience sake, or when a Mennonite initially acquiesced to officers' demands to work, but then changed his mind. This struggle to define noncombatant work--a struggle shared by military officials and by Mennonite groups alike--became a significant divisive factor in the Mennonites' military experience, causing the most internal strife (as men grappled with the decision of what work they could conscientiously do) and external strife (between Mennonite groups, and between Mennonites and the military). The protracted battle continued far beyond the point at which President Wilson defined noncombatant duty, the definition itself inadequately addressing the conscientious objectors' concerns to do constructive work, but outside the realm of what they believed a destructive institution. For this, for their unwillingness to accept any jobs under the government's military arm, the conscientious objectors faced derision and mistreatment from

soldiers and officers, detainment in detention barracks, courts-martial, and in some cases prison terms in federal penitentiaries.

For their own part, military and governmental officials and most Americans operated under a principle which said able-bodied young men must do their part to serve the country, if only by performing the simplest tasks in military camps. Therefore, they could not believe that washing dishes might violate one's conscience, nor that hauling garbage could be construed as participating in war. The objectors' actions (or inaction, as it were) made them appear even more as slackers, as friends of the enemy. While other men were toiling on the Western Front making the world safe for democracy, some conscientious objectors refused even to cut camp headquarters' grass; the contrasting sacrifice, or lack thereof, was not lost on most people. Yet rather than developing policies which would allow objectors to work without compromising their ideals, the government dispatched orders only reflecting their own, equal unwillingness to compromise. Neither the Mennonites or the government was willing to bend their principles—or to recast their principles in ways acceptable to the “other” side. Although President Wilson may have believed his Selective Service Act looked kindly on religious objectors, his vague definition of noncombatant service made relationships between conscientious objectors and the military authorities more strained, as did prescribing noncombatant service as the domain of military, rather than civilian, institutions. Until President Wilson finally defined noncombatant duty in March, 1918, camp officials were left to decide for themselves what noncombatant duty was, and their own definitions varied from camp to camp, officer to officer. And, when conscientious objectors would not yield to the orders given them they violated military law: refusal to follow an officer's commands, a crime punishable according to military justice by imprisonment. Officials were left with the difficult task of either forcing conscientious objectors to work by whatever means possible or prosecuting them in military courts. Many officers, it seems, sincerely struggled with this difficulty, as Camp Funston Lieutenant Colonel C.E. Kilbourne suggested in a letter to a Mennonite leader: "I have been so embarrassed by my inability so to govern events in

this camp as to reconcile the claims of your people with my duty to the government" (Kilbourne letter).

Mennonite conscientious objectors obviously had their own reasons for refusing any form of noncombatant duty. Homan argues that some were compelled to resist military service by fear; they worried that accepting combatant, or even noncombatant, duty might meet with disfavor at home and church. Most Mennonites, however, were motivated to reject all military duty by their deeply-internalized belief in biblical nonresistance, taught them by their family and church communities. Biblical peacemaking was an integral part of the Mennonites' heritage and way of life, and rejecting military duty seemed the only appropriate response available a follower of Christ. Wearing a uniform, working in the camps, and drilling represented for them an acquiescence to the military, an institution propagating violence and hatred for an enemy, rather than expressing Christ's love. Furthermore, any form of duty under military authority, however small and seemingly innocuous, might compromise their principles, making it easier for military authorities to foist larger chores upon them. Mennonite conscientious objectors worried that if they cut grass, military officials might reason they could also conscientiously cut and haul wood for the camp, and if they did that, an officer might demand they haul ammunition, and so on. Better to avoid that slippery slope by refusing any work under the government's military arm. As one Mennonite conscientious objector averred, the "further you went with the military officials the further they demanded one to go. The further I went the less reason I could give for stopping- -so I concluded the best place to stop was at the beginning." Although many who did take menial jobs were not "drawn more deeply into the military net" as Mennonites had feared (Homan, *Military Justice* 366), their concern still seemed meritorious. Baker's plan, after all, had been to use the kindness of officers as a ploy to convert conscientious objectors to the military's cause.

At its core, the confrontation between military officers and Mennonites over the issue of noncombatant duty again reflected differences in cultural expectations and an unwillingness for either side to forego their own ideologies. Government policy and objector reactions to policy forced a compromise of those principles on both sides. Officers had been trained to form their

conscripted recruits into devoted fighting men, by whatever lawful means possible. Most officers longed to see combat duty, and resented being detailed to the boring duty of overseeing conscientious objectors; as Major Walter Kellogg suggested, "no more monotonous or exacting service was rendered than that of the red-blooded Army man whose duty it was to constantly care" for war objectors (84). And soldiers, most also hoping to see action overseas, had been conscripted to become warriors, necessarily ready to answer their officers' every demand. Insubordination had long been dealt with in the military not by "tact and consideration" but by brashness and brutality, in-your-face mockery and physical intimidation. Military officials resisted the demand for a kinder, more gentle form of training; according to General Leonard Wood, the War Department's policy of "tact and consideration" was "not only a menace to good order and discipline but it is putting a premium on disloyalty" (qtd. in Juhnke, *Vision* 234). Government policies asked that military officers compromise the military culture they had been taught for the good of conscientious objectors: in this light, we may more readily understand the difficulty military officials might have in treating insubordinate conscientious objectors with kindness, especially when their nonresistance stance was so inconsonant with military ethos.

Yet the War Department's policy of officer "tact and consideration" was difficult for Mennonites to maneuver, too. At center, of course, was the issue of nonresistance, what constituted noncombatant duty, what men could rightfully do without violating their consciences. Those who chose not to work for conscience sake were also being forced to compromise their culture's expectations by rejecting authority and by refusing work. For a desire to work hard was part of a Mennonite upbringing, forged on farmlands throughout rural communities where young people toiled with their parents to sustain their families' livelihoods. Most Mennonites longed to be useful and felt they could find utilitarian roles during the war outside the military, farming or working in civilian institutions. However, the government had decided conscientious objectors should work within camps rather than through civilian avenues. Hence if a Mennonite chose not to perform any military service, he was condemned to idleness in objector detachments, contrary to his nature. Furthermore, Mennonite youth had long been taught submission to authority, but

only when that authority did not contradict God's laws. In the military, Mennonites saw this contradiction and chose to disobey the military. Even such insubordination went against their upbringing, though, as the *Gospel Herald* argued in late November, 1917: "let us notice that it is not natural for our brethren to act in this way. From their childhood they have been taught submission to constituted authority . . . they are, as a rule, hard working, self-denying, sympathetic, rendering obedience unto the higher powers" ("Some Live Questions" 633). Because a "principle is at stake," the article continued, Mennonites were being asked by the government to compromise tenets of their own ethnic upbringing, their desire to be useful and to obey authorities. As with the military officials, Mennonites had to relinquish some of what they had been taught to remain true to their convictions and remain within lawful bounds of governmental policy: in this light, too, we may more readily understand the difficulty Mennonites might have in being insubordinate, especially when their impulse was to work rather than to remain idle.

In the midst of this conflict, Mennonite men struggled to decide whether they could accept or to what degree they could accept noncombatant duty. Their belief in nonresistance, however deeply internalized, would not clearly point the way towards action. After all, Christ had said plenty about loving one's enemy, but nothing about hauling military garbage; He had made it clear Christians should not wield a sword, but did not mention whether they could wield a dish towel in military camps. The Mennonite history of nonresistance, also well known to Mennonite men, provided little certain illumination either. Mennonites in previous American wars did not have to make such choices, nor did the persecuted Anabaptists ancestors, who told Mennonites to be "children of peace" but did not say what being a child of peace in the twentieth century required. By failing to frame their nonresistant stance in the context of modern times and modern warfare, Mennonites had no distinct guidelines to follow, nothing that would tell them with confidence what Christ would command them to do if conscripted, if ordered to wear a uniform, and certainly not if demanded to wash dishes in a military cantonment.

And, especially in the early months of conscription, Mennonite groups had not constructed any definitive statements outlining what their young men should or should not do within military camps. The objectors were left to decide for themselves what jobs they could conscientiously accept; that some chose to work while others refused only confused and frustrated officers further. Most Mennonite men agreed at least to clean their own barracks and to cook their own food. Beyond that, each man concluded, sometimes after agonizing consideration, what work he could conscientiously do. Some, like Jacob C. Meyer, decided small chores done within the camps would not violate their principles. At Camp Sevier, Meyer forged favorable relationships with his officers, doing their clerical work and running errands; he based his decision to perform these duties on 2 Thessalonians 3:10: "if any would not work, neither should he eat." Others concluded they could accept no work under military jurisdiction, not sanitation duty nor even positions in military hospitals. The goal of this service was not, they believed, humanitarian, since hospitals only sought to make men fit for fighting again. The *Gospel Herald*, echoing this sentiment, editorialized on October 4, 1917, that

Even the authorities recognize that a man in hospitals . . . is just as valuable in the work of overcoming the enemy as is the man who carries the rifle and actually shoots . . . Nonresistant people can not consistently have a part in this work, no matter whether their task be considered combatant or noncombatant. This principle must be recognized, or our claims for nonresistance are a farce. ("Things We Have Seen" 489)

Wishing to stay true to one's pacific faith meant, therefore, accepting no work under military authority. This was the position chosen by many Mennonite objectors, who became known as "absolutists" for their unwavering stance.

Punishment was sometimes severe for those who felt they could render no service, meted out by angry officers or by soldiers, with officers conveniently absent. At first, the mistreatment was often psychological and included appeals to the objectors' loyalty and Christian good will, taunts, ridicule, and humiliation. If this did not compel conscientious objectors to fold and to

accept duty, physical abuse followed. Some camps became notorious for mistreatment, especially the smaller cantonments with sparse populations of conscientious objectors. Yet even in a larger and well-established cantonment like Camp Funston, military men continually persecuted conscientious objectors with the near-blessing of their commanding officer, Leonard Wood, who himself despised opponents of war. Waldner writes that when fellow Hutterite Peter Tschetter refused to work at Camp Funston, soldiers said "Write down where we are to send your body for you are now going to be shot." They put a sack over his head and cocked their rifles then slapped two boards together, replicating gun shots. When he still refused, they threatened to scald him with boiling water. In this way, they forced Tschetter to wash dishes and peel potatoes (Waldner 3). Swartzendruber reports that a conscientious objector in his Georgian camp was thrown into a cesspool by soldiers, who shoveled sewage onto his head and said "we baptize you in the name of Jesus." The soldiers then choked Swartzendruber and dunked him headfirst in the cesspool, pulling him out only after asking "three times" if he would "do what they tell me to" (6).

Countless other forms of physical abuse, similar in severity if different in kind to Swartzendruber's, occurred in the country's military cantonments. At Camp Sherman, Ohio, John Witmer and another Mennonite were forced to stand on boxes in the camp's public square and read their Bibles aloud for four days; masses of soldiers stood by and taunted them. However, he reported that "this was the lighter of punishments he had received," for on a later occasion, several officers "dragged him down an alley and then charged with bayonets as if to kill him." The bayonets barely missed his head (Landis 3). Adam Mumaw refused kitchen duty at Camp Zachary Taylor, Kentucky, and was forced to run sprints with an armed soldier watching. When the soldier was dissatisfied with Mumaw's pace, he began chasing the conscientious objector who, despite exhaustion, out sprinted the guard; in this way, Mumaw gained the guard's respect, and they reached a compromise about the work he would do. Yet compromise was rare. Like all other conscientious objectors who refused orders to render service, Mennonites were subjected to mock executions, to beatings with fists and rifle butts, to water treatments, to prolonged stays in

dank guard houses and a diet of water and bread. Some yielded to military pressure and accepted the work demanded of them. A good number, though, remained steadfast in their convictions, even after painful beatings or long days in the guardhouse.

The conscientious objectors' unwillingness to relinquish their stance in the face of persecution reflected so clearly the long history of martyrdom upon which the Mennonite Church was founded, their lives in military camps a reenactment of the early church's "suffering love," a point not lost on the Mennonite presses. In an unsigned *Gospel Herald* article entitled "The Martyr Spirit," the connection between early Anabaptist martyrs and the church's twentieth century martyrs was well established:

Now and then there comes to our ears a story of real persecution and real heroism on the part of our brethren in camp . . . They have the martyr spirit. They believe that they ought not in any way to aid or abet war, even if it is keeping up the noncombatant end of the military machine, and rather than have any part in the work of destroying men's lives they will suffer persecution, even death, before they will give their consent to do any military service. This is a good time to read the story of how many of our fathers went to the stake rather than compromise their faith. (585)

This "martyr spirit," so much a part of Mennonite Church heritage, would certainly be remembered by many Mennonite men, who could easily recognize the similarities between their plight and their ancestors'. If not, home communities and church publications reminded them. Just as soldiers were being lionized by American citizens, so too were Mennonite conscientious objectors being made into religious heroes by their people: their names appeared in denominational magazines, as did stories of their mistreatment and their unwillingness to bend. Swartzendruber's profession of love for his tormentors well exemplifies this reenactment of martyrdom and suffering love. After being "baptized" in a cesspool by a sergeant and his men, the sergeant asked Swartzendruber "Do you still love me?" Swartzendruber's response was "I do." This only infuriated the sergeant more (7). In similar ways, other Mennonite men reported

praying for their officers and soldiers, their persecutors, that they would find salvation and cease making war. Rarely if ever did a Mennonite man seek retribution for the persecution given him beyond reporting abuses to officers. Instead, the Mennonites' willingness to "Resist not evil" and to "love thine enemy" made them easier targets for continued mistreatment, and for continued demands to do work they conscientiously could not do.

Men at times ceased working after several months on the job, infuriating their superiors further. The objector might decide he could abet the war machine no more, or that he had been duped by military authorities, or he sensed that his officers were attempting to draw him into the "military net." Such was the case of Noah Leatherman at Camp Funston. At first he agreed to haul garbage, told by military officials that "the work they wanted us to do was not at all military work but simply civilian service" (6). Leatherman and his fellow objectors were informed if they "found [they] could not do the work," they could make complaints later. When eight conscientious objectors refused to work on a Sunday several days later, they were taken to a nearby field and beaten with rifle butts (7). Another two weeks passed, and Leatherman realized "that the officers were endeavoring to gradually work us all into the Army and regular military service." Yet when he told his lieutenant he could no longer haul garbage, he was put in the guard house, fed a diet of bread and water, and forced to sleep on the cold cement floor. According to Leatherman, he was being punished so severely because "the lieutenant now claimed we had no right to say we were 'conscientious' about doing this work as we had been doing it so long" (8). Nonetheless, Leatherman worked no more in the camp's sanitation department, and was in fact later court-martialed and sent to Fort Leavenworth penitentiary for insubordination.

Conscientious objectors came to conclusions about work, like Leatherman, only after continuous thought, prayer, and discussion with others, including Mennonite ministers. Gaeddert, who hauled trash with Leatherman at Camp Funston, reached a markedly different conclusion than his friend--and continued to perform duties within the camp--only after many "thots," discussions with former college professors and family, and correspondence with the

Mennonite leader H.P. Krehbiel. Writing to Krehbiel on January 15, 1918, Gaeddert wished to know if the work he was doing in sanitation should be considered "evil." His query came, in part, because the Old Mennonites at Camp Funston had ceased working and were being readied for a move to detention barracks. Gaeddert wondered if they (presumably meaning General Conference Mennonites, of which he was one) should join their Mennonite compatriots or persist in their present work. Krehbiel's lengthy response, written several days later, is significant:

It is plain that the way of duty in the position which you have been placed is not always clear . . . It again raises the old question in everyones mind, "Am I doing military service when I do any work of any kind, inside of the camp?" And according as this question is answered so must consistently be the attitude of those who believe that Christ disapproves of war in any form. If that question is answered finally and clearly, yes, work in the camp, any kind of work is military service, then no work can be done without violating conscience. However if the answer is --- some lines of work are not military service, but only some work done of a useful nature inside of a military camp, but not thereby a military service, then very evidently work of that kind may be done in the military camp without doing violence to conscience. (21 January 1918)

If, Krehbiel wrote to Gaeddert, one's conscience admits he can accept "purely utilitarian work about the camp," he should make it known that he will "do it gladly in the spirit of our Master Jesus Christ to serve and do good in such ways as are open to us." In the end, Krehbiel's message helped Gaeddert choose to continue with small chores, though Gaeddert had already admitted he did not believe his work was detrimental.

Krehbiel's advice provides insight not only about Gaeddert's case but about the General Conference Mennonite ethos Krehbiel voiced, and the ways that ethos differed from the Old Mennonites. The letter suggests that only Gaeddert and other men could conscientiously decide whether they could work in camps; their actions need only remain consistent with those decisions. In this, Krehbiel reflected the General Conference conviction of individual autonomy,

the understanding that the Church could not dictate rules of faith and practice, but that each believer must interpret the Bible's message and live accordingly. In addition, Krehbiel's letter hints at a disagreement many General Conference Mennonites had with other Mennonite groups regarding the roles men should play in military camps. While General Conference Mennonites predominantly believed conscientious objectors could accept some work, other Mennonite sects took a harder line. This struggle between Mennonite groups to prescribe behavior for their men thus became another strain in the relationship between Mennonites and the military, and between Mennonite leaders and their young men.

At the core of this disagreement between Mennonite groups was, it seems, the two largest Mennonite bodies, the General Conference Mennonites and the Old Mennonite Church. Each group established its own committees to address the concerns of their brethren responding to the draft and reporting to military camps: the Old Mennonites constructed a War Problems Committee, and the General Conference Mennonites had an Exemption Committee representing the entire conference, as well as an Exemption Committee formed by Western District constituents. Representatives from these committees actively lobbied Washington in the months preceding conscription, and continued working on the conscientious objectors' behalf once they entered military camps, visiting Washington officials as well as officers in military cantonments, writing letters, and ultimately, suggesting that their young men assume some form of action, or inaction, as the case may be. Yet often, the suggestions these committees made remained vague or were inconsistent with those made by other committees. This led to apparently incongruous action on the part of conscientious objectors who chose themselves, with the sometimes imprecise guidance of committee statements and church ministers, whether they could render any form of noncombatant service. In turn, this seeming inconsistency aggravated military officials, who believed disparity in action hinted at the conscientious objectors' general insincerity and at their true character. And, aggravation sometimes precipitated mistreatment and violence, as officers and soldiers attempted to make the apparently insincere among them accept work, don a uniform, or drill.

One of the first supposedly definitive statements of action made by a Mennonite group was that of the General Conference Mennonite Church, whose Exemption Committee advised its draftees in September 1917 to "accept only service designed to support and to save life. They were not to participate in any work that would result in personal injury" (Homan 123). Some conscientious objectors must have been struck by the vagueness of this statement, as it still failed to prescribe action: Would accepting kitchen work "support life"? Would hauling trash? After all, these jobs sustained the well-being of those in the camps. Once again, Mennonite men would be compelled to decide for themselves whether the duties ordered them fell within the realm of this Exemption Committee's guidelines; once again, they would reach different conclusions. Yet the Exemption Committee of the Western District General Conference arrived at no clearer statement. This committee agreed that men could accept work which supported life outside military jurisdiction; that they should not perform any work which led to injury or loss of life; and that any work demanded of them which "virtually constituted military service" should be done "only under protest" (Conference Resolution). In this, the General Conference Mennonite Church seemingly suggested its men could render service in military camps if they made their objections known. The Church still remained imprecise on what "constituted military service," thereby failing to provide any clear guidance to young men already in camps, struggling to figure out what work would not violate the Church's nonresistant creed. Nor did they outline how the men should voice their objections or how expressing objections assuaged the men's scruples against accepting military work.

Despite the vagueness of their statements, the General Conference Mennonite committees agreed that their men could perform some types of duty in camps and in this, they at first disagreed with the Old Mennonite Church's Military Problems Committee, who believed the conscientious objectors should completely refuse to cooperate with military authorities, should therefore assume an absolutist stance and so incur placement in detention barracks. This many men readily did upon entering military camps, facing the ire of military men and the idleness of detention. Though the Old Mennonite Church's nonconciliatory position probably caused

increased mistreatment for conscientious objectors and though it contradicted the clearly more liberal stance taken by their General Conference brethren, the definitive stance still proved useful to conscientious objectors. Unlike General Conference Mennonites, who had to interpret vague position statements given them by their leaders, some Old Mennonite men knew what the church expected of them, and what they should do when demanded to perform chores.

Although these various Mennonite committees many times did not work in concord during the Great War, several events in the first months of 1918 compelled them to more readily see and even agree with each other's positions. First, in early January, delegates from eight Mennonite sects convened in Goshen, Indiana, and drafted a statement to the effect that Mennonite conscientious objectors could not and so would not render either combatant or noncombatant service. The statement, sent to President Wilson, reflected the varying Mennonites' general agreement about the role their men should take in military camps, although once again the term "noncombatant" remained imprecise. Then, two months later, Mennonites together reacted negatively to Wilson's final definition of "noncombatant duty," coming nearly one year after he signed the Selective Service Act into law. It was a definition Mennonites had eagerly anticipated, as they believed it might ease some of their young men's difficulties in camps. Yet President Wilson failed to alleviate much of anything. In late March, conscientious objectors already in military cantonments were called together by their commanding officers, and were read Wilson's order. Men were told they had three options for service should they be deemed exempt from combatant duty: they could perform work in the Medical Corps, in the Quartermaster Corps, or in the Engineering Corps. Those who refused these assignments, the order said, "shall be segregated as far as practicable and placed under the command of a specially qualified officer of tact and judgment, who will be instructed to impose no punitive hardship of any kind upon them." Wilson's new decree also stipulated that, should they refuse all jobs, they could face courts-martial and imprisonment under Articles of War 64 and 65, "the willful disobedience of a lawful order or command" ("Executive Order" 1,2).

Not much had changed for Mennonite conscientious objectors. Though the government now offered a more precise interpretation of noncombatancy, the jobs provided by the executive order still fell under military rule, and still in the Mennonites' estimation required that they abet warfare. And, now more than ever military officers had the force of law in making conscientious objectors perform noncombatant duty, especially as the government gave them license to court-martial those who seemed insincere or disloyal in their refusal to accept noncombatant service. At Camp Funston, a colonel took conscientious objectors to a bluff overlooking the camp and read President Wilson's declaration; once he finished, the men silently digested the definition they had so hopefully anticipated, and by which they were so disappointed. Finally, Leatherman writes, one man stepped forward and explained again the Mennonites' position. The colonel with resignation said, "That is all I can do." Wilson's edict had not improved life for Mennonite conscientious objectors. If anything, they would now face more difficulty.

This Old Mennonite leaders clearly understood. According to Homan, the Military Problems committee altered their stance, and now encouraged men to accept some chores within the camps. In part, it seems, they anticipated harsher trials for the men, but Mennonite leaders also were proceeding with more caution, worried their recommendations to conscientious objectors might violate the Espionage and Sedition Acts. Two members of the committee, Aaron Loucks and J.S. Hartzler, therefore told Mennonite men they should not openly refuse officers' demands, but should explain "mildly" why they found an order unacceptable. In the least, they reasoned, men could clean up around their barracks and cook, for in rejecting even these jobs men "were bringing trials upon themselves." Conscientious objectors might choose to wear a uniform if they wished. And, though Mennonites may still have to suffer in camps, "suffering for Christ would be an opportunity to glorify God more than they could possibly do at home or anywhere else" (Homan 131-32). In this, Old Mennonites came more into line with General Conference Mennonites who even after Wilson's edict predominantly believed their men could render some service and could even wear the uniform, if their consciences allowed it.

Although Mennonite leaders now agreed to a greater extent about what their men should do in camps, little else changed for Mennonite conscientious objectors following President Wilson's March order. Mennonite men continued to be drafted, continued to board trains bound for military camps, continued to struggle with whether they should drill, wear a uniform, and accept noncombatant service. The imprecise language of church committee statements did not offer complete and clear guidance for Mennonite men in camps, who were still left to search their own consciences and to decide for themselves what action they could take within camps. As before, they reached differing conclusions about what military obligations they could meet; as before, military officials reacted differently to the conclusions they reached. Some Mennonites did accept duty under Wilson's plan, joining the medical, quartermaster, or engineering corps, and therefore experienced few problems with fellow soldiers and noncombatant workers. Many others, however, would not sign up for noncombatant service under Wilson's plan, even if they continued to do small jobs around the camp. These men would in some cases receive abuse and/or courts-martial for their insubordination. Most would be placed in conscientious objector detachments, consigned to further idleness, still providing no service useful for their country, wondering what would happen next.

Life with "The Boys": The Military Camp Experience

Mistreatment, emotional turmoil, conflict with military authorities: these things certainly colored Mennonite conscientious objectors' experiences during the Great War. Of course one cannot really forget abuse, loneliness and isolation, a defining moment in a young life. Yet though Mennonites' written texts mention the trials they received, rarely do such trials become a writer's sole focus. Instead, according to one Mennonite objector, "Somehow one does not care to remember the hardships and does not like to write about them. We would rather think of the goodness and mercy of God in carrying us through, and forget the unpleasant experiences" (qtd. in Hartzler 122). Certainly this is not entirely true, since many conscientious objectors did remember--sometimes all too vividly--their painful time during the Great War, and did write

about their "hardships." In addition to recounting their struggle during military confinement, though, the narratives of Mennonite conscientious objectors tell another story as well: of life in conscientious objector detachments and of a brotherhood forged through shared experience there.

Adam Mumaw's "Second Company Development Battalion" provides a detailed account of what a conscientious objector unit might look like. As in many places, the conscientious objector detachment was separated from the rest of the camp. Mumaw's unit had its own tents for occupation in summer and its own barracks for winter, as well as a separate latrine. Most camps had their own mess halls where the conscientious objectors cooked their meals. Often, Mumaw writes, their food rivaled any made by army regulars and received the accolades of officers who ate there. At a few camps, conscientious objectors shared mess halls with soldiers in training and at Camp Sevier, they were asked to serve meals in the same mess hall as stockade prisoners: they did for a short while, but only under protest. Although not assigned to noncombatant duty, most conscientious objectors still cleaned their own living quarters, mess halls, and latrines daily. In addition to these light chores, some ran errands or did "office duty," including all night stints by the company telephone.

In conscientious objector units, men did not always feel threatened by armed guards nor imprisoned by their detainment, though officers still commanded the units and soldiers bearing guns were posted as guards nearby. At some camps, objectors could leave their barracks by receiving passes of varying lengths. Shorter passes were on rare occasions granted so that men could visit camp canteens and sometimes nearby towns to buy goods, including candy and stamps. At Camp Jackson, Jacob C. Meyer was given a "permanent pass" of this nature, and often spent his days wandering from canteen to his unit purchasing goods he would then sell to his brethren. Longer passes, usually of 24 to 48 hours, were issued less frequently. Those living close enough used one- or two-day passes to journey home for visits, traveling at night to be with their families by day. During their home stays they gave testimony in their churches about life in the military, received prayer and sometimes monetary gifts, and shared meals with church and extended family before once again bidding a sad farewell and returning to camp. These passes

were sometimes withheld from conscientious objectors as a means of punishment or inducement, a way to make men "take some kind of service with promise of freedom" (Mumaw, "Second Company" 7). Still, as much as men cherished their visits with family, Mumaw writes that they did not compromise their principles to buy passes home.

Ministers often visited camps and gave sermons to the men. While a few camps, especially those close to Mennonite communities, received ministers often, other cantonments were rarely if ever visited by a Mennonite pastor and those objectors relied on the ministrations of leaders from other churches. Camp officials could also withhold the possibility of church services with the men's pastors, turning the civilians away at the camp entrance or demanding that they could preach to but not talk with the men. Speaking with their brethren was an important aspect of the visits, though, as it allowed men to voice their concerns, to ask questions, and to receive spiritual guidance. Perhaps military officials knew this, and knew that prohibiting Mennonite ministers in camp was another way to goad the conscientious objectors. When Mennonite pastors were absent, officers might arrange for a Y.M.C.A. minister to speak. From all indications, Mennonites did not always enjoy worshipping with these ministers, who surely voiced the country's then-predominating theology of trench salvation and holy war. So much did he dislike such preaching that on one occasion, Ura Hostetler wrote in his diary that "some civilian Anti Christ was here and talked to us something awful. May God show him the light before it is too late...Claimed to be a minister of the Gospel?" (217).

On nearly every day save Sunday, military officers recommended and sometimes compelled the conscientious objectors to take walks in the fields and hills surrounding the camps; the hikes could stretch as far as ten or twenty miles. Most men did not complain, as physical exercise staved off idleness and mental and spiritual dullness. Once in the countryside, the men sometimes sat together and studied their Bibles, using the peaceful space away from camp to worship their God. Physical exertion might continue when the men returned to camp, as they hauled and chopped wood for their kitchens or practiced baseball and football; they purchased their own sports equipment and shared it with the detachment. Mumaw reports in his

camp the men had a healthy competition running during football games between married and single men. Hostetler suggests competition was more of a peaceful Mennonite brand at Camp Funston, where "base ball" was "played in good humor, but not as rival teams as world mostly plays" (215).

Other than the hikes, games, and small jobs around the camp, the conscientious objectors were mostly consigned to idleness, boredom, and feelings of uselessness, as most anyone would be when confined against his will. With hours upon hours yawning before them, men sought whatever means possible to remain active and useful. Some men took up woodworking and made simple furniture for their barracks and for their officers. At Camp Jackson, Meyer wrote, the Amish grumbled about the furniture they made, only because inferior tools compromised their handwork. Mumaw and his brethren at Camp Zachary Taylor learned the art of designing and sewing pillow tops; Mumaw's own creation, made with red, white, and blue threads, was stolen by his officer ("Second Company" 9). In the evenings the men would sometimes sing hymns together or would have a devotional period with one man acting as leader. Whenever possible, a conscientious objector wrote letters and read books and denominational publications. Or, at least, those who were literate had this diversion available to them. At Camp Jackson, Meyer could spend his time perusing books from the Y.M.C.A. library stacks, and listed in his diary the works he read, including the classic epics of Homer and the contemporary novels of H.G. Wells. Several bunkmates, however, could not even read, and relied on Meyer's help in writing letters home and to love interests. In time, Meyer's officers suggested that he and other educated conscientious objectors establish a school in their detachment. This they readily did, with course work covering the sciences, languages, and technical skills like typing.

The conscientious objector's life was not usually contented. Faced with the stifling monotony of their daily routine, conscientious objectors longed for work, for a way to be made useful, for a way to combat the idleness which made them sluggish and dull-headed. Small chores little quelled their drive towards pragmatism, nor did games of baseball or hikes in the

country. What they really wanted was to work--outside military jurisdiction of course--to toil in a way which would prove themselves productive members of wartime society.

Idleness also increased their loneliness, as unoccupied time could readily be filled with thoughts of home and family. In both Hostetler's and Gaeddert's diaries, the men's longing for home corresponds well with their boredom. When they are busy, their "many thots" of home remain farther from their minds (Gaeddert 150). Hostetler admits again and again that he is dreadfully homesick, so "blue" that he doesn't "know where to go or what to do"; his only panacea is ice cream, which he buys to cheer himself up (208). Letters and visits to the camp from family and friends helped ease this loneliness temporarily, but ultimately intensified the men's longing for home. Hostetler writes in his diary that he cried after reading letters from his wife; Gaeddert likewise admits he cried when he had to say good-bye to a brother visiting from Oklahoma. Men profoundly felt their separation from loved ones, especially when someone at home had fallen ill or had died, rather common occurrences in an influenza-plagued era. Wives and children died while men were in camp, as did parents and siblings, but although objectors were often granted passes home to visit dying relatives or to attend funerals they also had to return quickly to camp, their idleness affording them a chance to dwell on their loss, their loneliness only deepened by it.

Ice cream, at one quarter per cone, could provide Hostetler a fleeting (and costly) stay against loneliness. Letters and visits with family, while vital to the conscientious objectors' well-being, could also give only temporary relief from a constant longing for home. Lonely, confined, aliens together in a strange land, the conscientious objectors turned to each other for comfort and companionship, forging a brotherhood of sorts to combat their shared misery. For Mennonite conscientious objectors, the community they developed within their detachments became a vital part of their Great War experiences, as their diaries reflect again and again the centrality of this brotherhood in their wartime detainment. In a way, the diaries of Mennonite men become not so much about the authors but about the units in which they lived, as the writers mention those providing aid for the infirm among them; those encouraging one another to remain steadfast in

their nonresistant stance; those writing letters home for the illiterate in their ranks; those giving comfort to the lonely, longing for wife and children; and those facilitating evening Bible studies and hymn sings. The writers' outward emphasis in their texts and their compulsion to focus as much on their community as on themselves clearly influences both the texture and content of their writing. The lists of unfamiliar names in the men's diaries and the repeated compendium of others' daily existences at times seems tedious, as readers are forced to wade through references to men performing routine chores; nonetheless, these lists reflect an important component of camp life, the friendship with men of like mind and spirit.

Of course, brotherhood is a theme common to much wartime literature, so in this respect Mennonites' writing is not unique. Examples in literature of this profound connection created through war abound. Look at the writing of any trench poet, for instance, or at the autobiography of Guy Chapman, who proposes his self-narrative is more about his battalion than his self since during the Great War his "life was involved with the lives of other men, a few living, some dead" (13). We need only read a doughboy's autobiography to see how community was forged for soldiers of World War I: in the hardship of the trenches and the rollicking good times at French pubs, a unity sealed by blood and wine, adversity and celebration, the creation of an "us" to stand against an enemy "them." The experience of Mennonite conscientious objectors, so unlike World War I combat soldiers in nearly every other sense, shares this similarity: their community too was forged through a sort of adversity (certainly not, we must admit, as bloody an adversity as the soldiers'), the need for a brotherhood to stand against the military establishment, the "them." And it is this life among others that becomes emblematic of their wartime experience, giving it shape, meaning, purpose; their days are marked not by singular events, but by the events shared with their newfound brethren.

Additionally, though, for Mennonites, the vast significance of community in their religion must also have influenced their creation of a conscientious objector fellowship within military camps. Mennonites used their detachments as a means of establishing communities to replace the ones they left, complete with church, Bible study, singing: all meaningful

components of Mennonite fellowship. Even the practice of visitation between conscientious objector units replicated the social custom of visiting in their home communities, as men moved from one barrack to the other to meet friends and discuss the day's events. These visits were duly recorded in their diaries, a valuable indication of their importance in the men's daily lives. One might rightfully argue that the social structure developed in military camps mirrored the Mennonite doctrine of two kingdoms, with the small and secluded communities of conscientious objectors separated from the "carnal world" of the military. What Mennonites postulated as the moral degradation of soldiers only made this distinction clearer; soldiers were of the world not only because they ignored biblical calls to peace, but also because of their drinking, smoking, dancing, and profanity. On the soldiers' side of the cantonment such immorality could continue unabated, while the segregated world of the conscientious objectors focused on their own community's vitality, praying also that they could transform--if only from a distance--the carnal military kingdom. At Shank's camp, conscientious objectors recognized this separation of kingdoms. Their compound of tents, set apart from the regular soldiers, were located on "Holy Hill."

A Certain Relief: The Board of Inquiry and Furloughs

As the year 1918 progressed, conscientious objectors remained in military camps throughout the country. The war raged on, and thousands upon thousands of soldiers marched out of their cantonments, boarded trains bound for the east coast, and then left for Europe. New blood responded to the draft, journeyed to camp, and prepared for war, or refused duty and accepted detainment in conscientious objector detachments. Meanwhile, additional registrations and extended age limitations (now from 18 to 45) brought new replacements to the camps. Rumors about the possibility of a farm furlough began to spread through conscientious objector units, though no one--not officers nor Mennonite leaders--could confirm the rumor's accuracy. Until such meaningful work outside the military could be granted them, Mennonite men persisted

on the same course, rendering service as their consciences saw fit, facing the monotony of another day spent idly and away from home.

Plans for enacting farm furloughs were indeed afoot, although not necessarily as a means of addressing the conscientious objector problem. Instead, the furlough law was sanctioned on March 16, 1918, to alleviate the shortage of agricultural labor occasioned by the war. The law stipulated that soldiers who volunteered could be dispatched by Secretary of War Baker to render service on farms or in industry. The legislation said nothing of the furlough's applicability for conscientious objectors, although some scholars argue that the Farm Furlough Act was indeed intended for them; Juhnke notes that President Wilson considered this legislation for conscientious objectors in February, 1918 (*Vision* 342). However, Assistant Secretary of War Frederick Keppel, who oversaw the country's conscientious objector affairs, knew nothing of the act until May 15, 1918 (Shields 267); likewise in late April, 1918, the Mennonite Gaeddert wrote in his diary with some disappointment that he "learned that the furlough is not for us" (170). When the possibility of using the law for conscientious objectors did arise, governmental leaders argued that farm furloughs would solve nothing for military officials nor for objectors. Said the acting judge advocate general, "To use the Act of March 16, 1918, as a means of enabling so-called conscientious objectors to evade their statutory obligations would be to violate its spirit, and to furlough them as a mere subterfuge for exempting them from noncombatant military service would be plainly illegal" (qtd. in Shields 267).

Baker ultimately decided that conscientious objectors could be furloughed as well. Those who qualified would be sent to farms requesting assistance, where they would earn a private's wages of \$30 a month; any money made in excess would be sent to the Red Cross. Under the furlough legislation, a few men would also be granted relief work overseas with the American Friends Service Committee, rebuilding the infrastructure of a war-torn nation. Mennonite conscientious objectors were by and large thrilled at the prospect of leaving the camps, even if they were not going home. They would finally be able to do something useful

outside of the military's domain, and would be performing duties many of them knew well and at which many excelled.

On June 1, 1918, Baker established the Board of Inquiry, composed of three men who visited military camps and met with conscientious objectors. After examining each man, the Board determined his sincerity as a war objector and recommend furloughing to those deemed sincere in their refusal to accept noncombatant or combatant duty. The Board was composed of two civilians, Harlan F. Stone, Dean of the Columbia University Law School, and Julian W. Mack, Judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. The military had one representative on the Board: first, Major Richard C. Stoddard, and when he was called overseas in August, 1918, Major Walter G. Kellogg assumed his place. Kellogg would later write a book detailing his perceptions of conscientious objectors and of his time examining them.

In early June, the Board of Inquiry began its trek across the country, stopping at each cantonment to meet with 2,100 conscientious objectors still detained in military camps.⁸ Beyond the rigors of traveling, they faced an arduous chore: how could they certify the sincerity of men with only the men's pledge of sincerity to guide them? This "difficulty of determining the sincerity with which a conviction is held" was well recognized by Kellogg, who said doing so required that they "plumb the depths of a man's mind with the purpose of finding if truth is at the bottom" (27). The tools they had for plumbing minds were sparse, as was the time allotted the examination of each man and of each camp. Still, despite the potentially complex task of ascertaining the sincerity of a man's convictions, the examinations soon became "tedious" according to Stone, who hated facing the "long lines of stolid, bovine-faced Dunkards, Mennonites, Hutterites, and the like, each one supremely interested in the salvation of his own soul even though the world perish" (262).

⁸This is the number provided by Kellogg in *The Conscientious Objector*, as reported by the Adjutant General's Office. In his article for *The Columbia University Quarterly*, Harlan Stone puts the number of conscientious objectors appearing before the Board at 2,300.

For their own part, the seemingly "bovine-faced" objectors anticipated meeting with the Board of Inquiry, seeing the examination as a chance to tell their own stories, to have their sincerity finally certified, and to receive their furloughs. Writes Kellogg:

Occasionally the objectors were not informed that the Board of Inquiry was present and about to examine them; they nevertheless displayed a willingness to be questioned, whether or not they knew by whom or for what purposes the examination was to be conducted . . . They appeared to welcome the visitation of 'The Board of Washington' and in all cases that I remember they evinced no reluctance whatever to answer questions of any sort that were put to them. (54)

If notified ahead of time, men prepared well for their examination; their officers asked them to shave, clean, and make themselves and their detachment presentable. Anticipation was often mixed with fear, as conscientious objectors did not completely know what to expect nor what questions would be asked of them: Would they be judged insincere? Would their troubles continue? For Mumaw as for others the Bible provided the sustenance needed to face the Board. Directly before his examination, Mumaw relates to an anxious friend the verses found in Luke 12:11-12: "And when they bring you unto the synagogues and unto the magistrates and powers. Take no thought how or what thing ye shall answer or what ye shall say. For the Holy Ghost shall teach you in the same hour what ye shall say." The passage must have been useful for Mumaw, who was deemed sincere in his objection, and "marveled at the fairness" of the Board's "intelligence." His friend left the examination "Prais[ing] the Lord" because he could answer every question "with scripture" ("Second Company" 5).

At every camp the Board visited, men lined up to await their hearing. Sometimes, they appeared singly before the three examiners; sometimes, especially in the case of religious objectors like the Mennonites, groups appeared before the board, and little time was spent individually on each objector. During an examination the board would first attempt to determine

a Mennonite's religious convictions by his church membership certificate.⁹ His sincerity could be ascertained if he was a member of a recognized peace church before April 6, 1917, the beginning of American's war intervention. If he was baptized and joined the church after this date, his sincerity was considered suspect, necessitating even more questions about the man's faith. In most every case, after investigating an objector's church membership the Board generally asked a man several questions, as Meyer relates: "Do you use liquor or tobacco? Do you use profane language? Have you lived a pure sex life? Are you a church member? Do you get angry? . . . Are you afraid of death? Do you feel you can do more good by not taking a life?" ("Objector" 89). A conscientious objector might also be asked about his feelings regarding the war and about whether he wanted Germany or the Allies to win; undoubtedly, most men knew the appropriate response to a query about Allied victories.

According to the historian David Kennedy, the board or at least Kellogg was "hell-bent on shaming men out of their declared convictions," and sometimes provoked the objectors, asking on one occasion why a man belonged "to some nut society" and saying on another "If I didn't know that you were a conscientious objector, I would take you for a good wholesome boy" (Kennedy 164); Meyer reported that after his own interview, Kellogg lamented that Meyer was far too intelligent to waste his talents on conscientious objection. The Board also bombarded the men with hypotheticals, asking them how far they could be provoked before fighting back: What if they were face to face with a Hun? What if their houses were being robbed? What if their wives were being raped? Kellogg says that, "in all likelihood," a Mennonite would respond to such questions by testifying "that if some brute were to break into his mother's or sister's room and attempt to rape her, he would allow his mother or sister to be raped before he would shoot or otherwise injure her assailant" (39). However consistent with the Mennonite doctrine of

⁹The Board of Inquiry obviously used other means of assessment if the objectors were not religious. Those objecting on grounds other than religion usually faced a longer board evaluation and more questions about their political and economical ideologies.

"Resisting not evil," to Kellogg and perhaps even to other members of the board this response seemed unfathomable, so unlike their own principles were the Mennonites' own dogmas.

During most examinations, Mennonite men relied on the scripture which supported their nonresistant stance, the gospel of Matthew, Paul's letter to the Romans, the witness of Christ's pacific life. Answering hypothetical questions no doubt proved more difficult, although the objectors still formed answers based on the biblical admonishment to love rather than strike their persecutors. Yet for Mennonites as for other religious objectors, the ability to answer the questions "with scripture" may have granted them furloughs but not necessarily the Board's respect, as Kellogg notes:

These men knew their Bibles. They had read in the Testaments daily, or almost daily, they testified, for a long period of years. They did not read so much for the story of it as they read it for a guide which, in all things, was to govern their conduct. They knew it narrowly, unintelligently, but they knew it. And they knew nothing else. (Kellogg 58)

Indeed, that Mennonites relied on their biblical knowledge and "knew nothing else" earned them the derision of Kellogg and of Stone. Both men expressed dismay that some Mennonite conscientious objectors were not familiar with current events, could not identify what the *Lusitania* was nor recognized the names of Edith Cavell, General Foch, or General Pershing--all major players in the Great War.¹⁰ How, the Board wondered, could these men be American citizens and not know their own country's history and affairs, even as they knew every passage of the Bible?

Certainly much of this can be attributed to the Mennonites' insularity, the sect's doctrine of two kingdoms and their focus on community and religious life rather than the machinations of the carnal world. However, Board of Inquiry members believed Mennonites mentally

¹⁰Edith Cavell (1865-1915) was an English battlefield nurse whose execution by the Germans was well publicized in the United States; General Ferdinand Foch (1851-1929) was commander of French forces during the war; General John Pershing (1860-1948) commanded American forces.

incompetent, as Stone noted in 1919: "all in all they presented a depressing example of dense ignorance of what was going on in the world, and stolid indifference to those moral and political questions which were so profoundly stirring the minds and hearts of their fellow countrymen" (260). Kellogg postulated them not only "ignorant" but also so "intellectually inferior" that they were "unworthy" of being American citizens:

I doubt extremely if fifty per cent of the Mennonites examined, because of their ignorance and stupidity, ever should have been admitted into the Army at all; I am certain that ninety per cent of them need a far better preparation for citizenship than they have ever received . . . they are, doubtless, according to their lights, good Christians, but they are essentially a type of Americans of which America cannot be proud. (Kellogg 41)

Although Kellogg and Stone nearly always certified the Mennonite men as sincere and granted them furloughs--they were, after all, "good tillers of the soil" (Kellogg 41)--their indictment of Mennonites as "stupid" and "bovine-faced" idiots must have also reflected their general biases against Mennonites or their lack of appreciation for Mennonite culture. It is true that less than ten percent of Mennonite conscientious objectors received education beyond the eighth grade (May 48), but intelligence tests given to objectors during the Great War showed the Mennonite intelligence scores ranked higher than a normal company of draftees and above enlisted privates. More than 81 percent had "average" or "better than average" scores for intelligence, surpassed only by sergeants, commissioned officers, and candidates for officer's training (Lane 217). Mennonites may not have known much about the world's affairs, especially as church doctrine asked that they look inward to their community instead of outward to the world. It could well be argued that the Mennonite men were intellectually inferior, given their limited education, but they were not unintelligent, as members of the Board at times expressed.

Of the over 2,100 conscientious objectors examined by the Board of Inquiry, 1500 received furloughs, many Mennonites among them; 88 others were recommended for service with the American Friends Service Committee, and began making arrangements for travel

overseas. Another 390 were ordered to take noncombatant duty and 120 were deemed insincere and assigned to combatant service (Kellogg 127). Some of the men granted furloughs were assigned as well to mental hospitals, considered acceptable work by objectors because they would serve under civilian auspices and because they affirmed that hospitals meant not to destroy human life, but to repair and return humans to civilian life rather than war. Those receiving furloughs were, of course, eager to leave camp and begin work. In some camps, however, officials continued to foment trouble for conscientious objectors, ignoring furloughs, detaining men in camp, and court-martialing those who refused to obey orders--even though the men were supposed to be on farms and working (Homan 137-38). Additionally, a few objectors met hostilities once dispatched to the farms. An item in the *Oklahoma Leader* notes that conscientious objectors from Camp Dodge, Iowa, faced "threats of bodily harm" when furloughed to some Iowa farms, and the state's governor demanded that objectors be returned to camp. Understandably, community members did not want objectors working in nearby fields when their own boys were dying in France.

Many other objectors were lucky enough to begin working on farms requesting their help, and faced no resistance from the surrounding communities. Mennonite farmers participated as well in the furloughing system, responding to notices placed in Mennonite publications which asked for farmers to apply for help. The furlough law dictated that a man be placed on farms at least fifty miles from his home community, but some worked closer than that; others, farther away from home but on Mennonite farms nonetheless, cherished the chance to attend Mennonite church services and to be in a Mennonite community again. At any rate leaving camp was a relief, as was the opportunity to forego idleness, to take up the plow, and to feel again like useful and contributing citizens. Although they said farewell to the brotherhood of camp, the opportunity to be furloughed was considered a blessing. John Hege, receiving his furlough on July 15, 1918, called for "a Day of Rejoicing" (34). Ura Hostetler, already on a farm in Mason City, Iowa, details his first day furlough chores: "polic[ing] up the horse stable," cutting weeds, and thrashing wheat. In this, the last words of his diary's final entry, Hostetler admits that

furloughing "Beats Army life all allow" (220). And Gaeddert, shipped out to work at the Iowa State Hospital farm after nearly a year in camp, writes that this "first nite of Freedom" felt so wonderful it was "not to be expressed in words" (178). His diary, like Hostetler's, ends with this initial moment of near-freedom.

For many Mennonite objectors, receiving a furlough meant essentially that they were freed from military camps until the war's end. Following the declaration of Allied victory conscientious objectors were called back to camp and discharged, as were those still in camp but deemed sincere by the Board of Inquiry. Before their discharge, men were required to sign the payroll, something many objectors had refused to do during the war's duration believing that, as the *Gospel Herald* argued on November 1, 1917,

If we accept the pay we consent to the idea that we have rendered military service. To accept it under such circumstances . . . would show that they gave their consent to such service and would put a club into the hands of those who have been contending that Mennonites ought to be forced to do military service since they do not refuse to accept money or otherwise profit from the fortunes and misfortunes of war. ("Some Live Questions" 561)

However, to be lawfully discharged in November 1918, officers compelled the men to accept pay and would not release discharge papers until this occurred. Thus most Mennonite men signed the payroll and received earnings for work in camp and on the farm. Most immediately sent the money directly back to the U.S. Treasury or forwarded their pay to relief agencies asserting that as conscientious objectors, they had no claim to it. Leatherman, in sending \$474.04 back to Secretary Baker, wrote him that "Financially I have lost everything by having been drafted but spiritually I have gained much . . . I kindly request that you do not return this money to me as it will not be accepted" (59). Baker apparently followed the wishes of Leatherman and others, and their pay was not returned to them. A press release from the War Department News Bureau, issued on February 26, 1919, notes that the War Department received nearly \$4,500 from conscientious objectors in the few months following the war; another \$270 was given to the

Y.M.C.A. and \$4,000 to the American Friends Service Committee. Thus nearly \$9000 of soldiers' pay was rejected by conscientious objectors, who were unwilling to accept what they felt was the Army's blood money ("Press Release" 1).

Once paperwork was completed and military supplies recovered, the objectors received their discharge papers. Some objectors, like Meyer, were issued honorable discharges, although he would have "preferred" a "disability discharge" to avoid appearances that he might use the honorable label "to get an advantage"; in 1967, he wrote that he never attempted to garner the potential benefits of being an honorable veteran of war ("Objector" 94). At Camp Lee, Shank received a discharge neither honorable nor dishonorable, his certificate saying only "This is a Conscientious Objector, who has done no military duty whatsoever, and who refused to wear the uniform. He is not recommended for reenlistment" (35). For Shank as no doubt for others the ambiguity of his discharge meant little. With his papers in hand, Shank boarded a train once again and returned home, his experiences in the military, full of trials but also "rich in blessings" (36), now behind him.

Prisoners of War: The Court-Martialing of Objectors

Armistice Day and an Allied victory did not signal the end of wartime experience for all conscientious objectors. While their brethren received discharges and returned to home and family, other objectors remained imprisoned, a few manacled to their cells nine hours a day. Many of these prisoners, Mennonites among them, had been court-martialed and given lengthy prison terms of 10 or 25 years, their sentences sanctified by policies the government established in early 1918 and encouraged by public pressure to punish objectors. Regarded as common criminals, they shared cell blocks with rapists and murderers and were compelled again to live in a world diametrically opposed to their own. Mistreatment continued in the prisons, and several Hutterites died as a result of abuses received there. For Mennonite conscientious objectors court-martial and imprisonment would be the last chapter in their corporate narrative about the Great War; and, perhaps, it was the most tragic chapter as well.

Before March 1918, only 40 conscientious objectors in the country had been court-martialed, none of them Mennonites. After March, when the government imposed stricter guidelines for conscientious objectors, some 500 faced trials and prison (Kennedy 164); approximately 142 of these were Mennonites (Homan 145). The March 1918 declaration of what constituted noncombatant service first endorsed the use of military courts to punish objectors. That ruling included an article stipulating courts-martial to "deal with the cases of persons who fail or refuse to comply with lawful orders by reason of alleged religious or other conscientious scruples" (Kellogg 21). Shortly thereafter, Secretary Baker made military justice a more readily available tool for addressing conscientious objector problems, ordering that any objector engaging in propaganda, any appearing insincere in his beliefs, or any who was "sullen and defiant" should be "promptly brought to trial by court martial" (qtd. in Thomas 99). Military authorities now had a ready and legal device to punish objectors and many officers used Baker's orders with impunity, charging objectors with "sullen and defiant" behavior and for refusing to obey orders, throwing them into camp guard houses, and taking them to trial. Included in this number were men who had been seen by the Board of Inquiry and who had been granted furloughs, but whose officers kept them in camp--and then charged them with insubordination when they refused to obey orders.

Most objectors were charged with violating Articles of War 64 and 65, "the willful disobedience of a lawful order or command." Specifically, conscientious objectors who were commanded and refused to wear a uniform, to drill, or to perform duties ordered them could be tried if an officer chose to make such charges. Obviously many military authorities refrained from interpreting the articles in this manner, given the large number of objectors who were not court-martialed for refusing to comply with military obligations. Those who escaped trial and prison, those who received furloughs and then discharges, were sometimes unlike their brethren only in one aspect: their officers remained truer to Baker's order to treat conscientious objectors with "tact and kindness" as well as "to impose no punitive hardship of any kind upon" those not rendering service, drilling, or wearing a uniform.

In "Military Justice for Mennonites," Homan outlines the procedures used for courts-martialing Mennonites during World War I. Mennonites were tried before five to fifteen men in a general court-martial, with a judge advocate or prosecutor presiding; two Mennonites likewise received a summary court-martial, arbitrated by only one officer who could sentence a man to not more than three months. Unlike a civilian court, a military court was not intended to "secure justice but to enforce and maintain military discipline" (367), and those hearing the charges were not impartial, their opinions about conscientious objectors shared by a majority of military men. The panel hearing the case could not impose a sentence but could only recommend judgment to the commanding officer, who would then approve the court's decision. A trial was in many ways perfunctory and pro forma, as Maurice Hess, a conscientious objector tried at Camp Funston, argues: "In relation to our court-martial trials, I may say that they did not have the slightest resemblance to justice. They were a mere formality in the carrying out of the policy of the camp commander, M. Leonard Wood, or possibly of certain officials in Washington" (qtd. in Peterson and Fite 131). The abbreviated duration of the trials--some lasted a mere ten minutes or less—suggests as well that the trials were only a "formality," and were not meant to secure justice.

Defendants had the right to civilian counsel, but only eleven Mennonites chose this avenue (Homan 144). Further, though objectors were allowed counsel, during the Great War the counsel was not required to be a lawyer and did not spend much time with each defendant; some objectors reported that their counsel expressed open hostility to the man he was supposedly representing. Of his own court-martial John Neufeld writes that the "council introduced himself about 15 min before our trial" and "told us that he would do the best he could for us, but that he really had no sympathy for us" (247). Often the counsel allowed defendants to testify in their own behalf, as detrimental as that testimony might prove.

The transcript of Neufeld's court-martial reflects the general tenor and procedure of conscientious objector trials during this time. Detained at Camp Cody, New Mexico, Neufeld was tried on July 17, 1918, for failing to obeying a sergeant's order to drill with arms. Several officers testified at the trial that Neufeld had refused the sergeant's demands, although none

mentioned that--according to Neufeld's diary--the officers beat him for his insubordination. During Neufeld's examination the prosecution used a battery of questions similar to those applied at other courts-martial: What was his church membership? What did his church teach? To which church did his family belong? Why did he disobey orders? Did he wish for an Allied or a German victory? Did he believe Germany was being punished for its sins? Like other conscientious objectors, Neufeld testified in his own defense, arguing that the order he disobeyed was not lawful, as it "contradicted the order of the War Department of May 30th" which says "that no person after he has made known his position as a conscientious objector shall be required to participate in any drill, in any form, that is contrary to his conscience" (court transcript 14); articulating the biblical beliefs of his church; and clarifying his position on the war and his feelings towards Germany. In addition to the testimony of officers and of Neufeld, a psychologist who had examined Neufeld testified for the prosecution that although or perhaps because Neufeld had "a rather superior intelligence" his "conscientious scruples" were merely a means of escaping duty. Neufeld's cousin A.F. Neufeld was called by the defense to testify to the defendant's dedication to church principles. A.F. Neufeld's testimony little mattered, especially as he too was being court-martialed for disobeying orders. John Neufeld received a sentence of 15 years and was soon transferred to Fort Leavenworth. Though seemingly excessive, Neufeld's sentence was in actuality less severe than nearly half the Mennonite objectors tried during 1918, who received punishments of 25 or more years in jail.

By November 1918, Fort Leavenworth had become the "concentration camp" for conscientious objectors, as most were housed in the Leavenworth penitentiary so that the government could localize and control any conscientious objector problems (Kohn 34). Traveling to Leavenworth often proved an interesting experience for Mennonite conscientious objectors, as they sometimes rode trains in manacles and were paraded through Kansas City--near which Leavenworth was located--escorted by armed guards. Neufeld, at least, thought that although "the experience of marching through Kansas City Handcuffed was new," he "considered it mostly from the amusing side of it" (248): amusing, one supposes, because Neufeld and his

Mennonite brethren felt no need for handcuffs, since they would not lash out at guards or attempt to flee.

Once at the prison objectors were given a psychological exam, clothes emblazoned with their prison numbers, a book of rules, and the choice: accept work in the prison, or be placed in solitary confinement. A majority of Mennonite men chose to accept work, believing that since they were no longer under military rule they could work with a clear conscience. Leatherman, sentenced to 25 years at Leavenworth, justified his decision to work thusly:

I certainly commend the ones who chose solitary and did not give up their faith because of hardship. I may have yielded somewhat here through weakness of the flesh for I thought I was here for punishment since they had stopped trying to make a soldier out of me. So I decided to try the work and if it conflicted with my faith, to refuse to do any more. (38)

If they chose employment and proved themselves trustworthy, the objectors were placed on "Star Parole," meaning they could work outside the prison grounds and under relaxed guard since they were considered no threat to escape or to instigate violence. Star Parole jobs varied from working on farms to sewing civilian clothes for soon-to-be released prisoners. Leatherman spent his days digging stumps and pulling turnips, a "cold and disagreeable job" because the ground was frozen (38). Neufeld, working and living in a dairy barn near the prison, found the work "not hard . . . and as such I liked pretty good" (250).

Conscientious objectors who refused to render service once in prison did not find conditions "pretty good." Holding no distinction between being an objector in a military camp and a prisoner of the federal government, these men continued to believe working in prison helped support the war for, as Maurice Hess told Leatherman, "without [the prison] they could not carry on this war" (38). For their convictions the objectors were placed in solitary confinement, manacled to the prison bars for nine hours each day, and fed a diet of bread and water. If they relented and accepted work they would be released to a normal cell; although Leatherman had been "told that no man had ever been known to have stayed in solitary longer

than four days," Hess remained confined for 36 days, and still refused to work (38). Manacling could be particularly painful, as men were compelled to stand the entire time with their feet barely touching the floor. On December 6, 1918, the War Department finally issued a ruling against the practice of manacling, and some maltreatment of conscientious objectors ceased.

The ruling did not come soon enough for four Hutterite men, victims of gross mistreatment whose experiences of persecution became well known in Mennonite circles as a "story which typifies the spirit under which the war heretics had to suffer" ("Crucifixion" 1). Drafted in May, 1918, and sent to Camp Lewis, Washington, the four Hutterites--brothers David, Joseph, and Michael Hofer and brother-in-law Jacob Wipf, all married and with children--immediately faced ridicule and abuse from both soldiers and officers. After being beaten and put into the camp's guardhouse for refusing to follow orders, they were summarily tried and sentenced to 20 years in prison. Sent to Alcatraz, they were placed into a dungeon or "hole" for their continued refusal to follow authorities. The dungeon's stone walls were thick and damp, as was the air. Handcuffed to prison bars, their feet barely touched the floor; their clothes were taken from them, although guards left in each cell a military uniform they could wear if they wished to combat the cold. All refused. This continued for 36 hours during which time guards came periodically and beat them with clubs. For five days longer the men remained in the dungeon cells. No longer "hung up," they were allowed no food and only one glass of water a day, had no toilet or washing facilities, and continued to be beaten by their guards. Finally Alcatraz authorities fearing reprimand for their abuses released the four men, who were then transferred to Leavenworth.

Mistreatment persisted after their transfer. Though conditions in solitary confinement were not as harsh as at Alcatraz, the men were still manacled to their bars, still placed on a severely limited diet of bread and water, still forced to sleep on the floor. Joseph and Michael soon fell ill, were sent to the military hospital, and died. Joseph, who perished several days before his brother, was sent home in a coffin wearing the military uniform he had refused to accept--a stunning blow to parents already grieving the loss of one, and then another, son

(Leatherman 69-70).¹¹ David, at his brother Michael's bedside when he dead, was immediately returned to solitary. He later said to a Mennonite leader that "All next day I stood and wept, but I could not wipe the tears from my eyes as my hands were chained" (Leatherman 41). The men's pastor John Wipf attempted to intervene on their behalf following Joseph's death, writing to South Dakota's Senator Edward Johnson: "now my God is this the Government order, I can't stand it no longer so for God sake please help us and put a stop to it go and see Hon. Baker. secr of war he can stop it i know, please do your best at ones" (Wipf letter). Whether Johnson intervened or not remains unknown; at any rate, authorities soon released David Hofer, and Jacob Wipf, though he remained in solitary, received little more trouble before his April 1919 discharge.

The men's deaths may well have been attributed to influenza as much as to their mistreatment, though Mennonites contended that the abuse weakened them, making them susceptible to disease. They quickly became martyrs for the nonresistant cause, an exemplar to Mennonites of the horrific abuse meted out to objectors and of their patient suffering. The four Hutterites' fates were memorialized by a poem published in the October 2, 1919, issue of the *Gospel Herald*. Written by Mennonite J.G. Evert, "The Martyrs of Alcatraz" relates the punishments received by the Hutterite four, makes parallels between their own persecution and that of their Anabaptist ancestors, and indicts the "militaristic men" who "crush objectors with the heel" (490: 80-81). The final stanza connects the Hutterites' fate to all objectors unwilling to compromise their stances:

Thank God that these objectors four,
So gentle and so meek, and odd,

¹¹This is not the only instance in which a Mennonite objector who died in camp was sent home in a coffin and wearing a military uniform he had earlier refused to don. The body of John Klaassen, who died of influenza at Leavenworth in October, 1918, was shipped home in uniform. On the day his body arrived to his Oklahoma home, his father wrote this in his diary: "As soon as I got home with John's body I opened the coffin. There I found him--thin pale, and dressed in an Army uniform! 'Oh, my son!' I cried in agony. 'Why have they done this to you? . . . If you would not wear this uniform in life, you shall not wear it in death!' Then, nearly overcome with grief, I told [his wife] to have the women change his clothes. Immediately the uniform was taken off and his clothes put on" (10).

Are not alone; for many more
Have love to man and love to God
That prompts them to keep Jesus' laws:
To love and bless, forgive and bear,
But not assist in warlike cause,
Tho hatred threatens everywhere.

Evidenced also in Evert's poem is the doctrine of two kingdoms, the martyred objectors standing apart from the "hatred" surrounding them, still loving those who abhor their stance. An unsigned article appended to Leatherman's published diary (1951) and earlier distributed by the American Industrial Company echoes Evert's poem, as it likewise canonizes the Hutterites for their persecution, their steadfast convictions, and their willingness to hold "neither malice nor hate against his oppressors" while remaining separated from them ("Crucifixions" 1). In the article's conclusion, the author rails against an American system which would be "party to such oppression" and to the sufferings "meted out to all the objectors of the war." Thus the anonymous author, like Evert, suggests that the martyrdom of the Hofer brothers is emblematic of every conscientious objector's similar suffering, and of the American "social conscience" which "could remain callous to such coercive brutalities" ("Crucifixions" 3).

From all indications, the Hofer brothers and Wipf represented the worst case of objector mistreatment in federal prisons. Other objectors found conditions in solitary confinement poor but livable, especially after President Wilson ordered that manacling of prisoners cease. And, although a few Mennonites had been beaten upon arriving at Leavenworth, such abuse seemed the exception rather than the rule, particularly since Mennonites proved themselves model prisoners, conscientious, hard-working, and honest. Even without the obvious comforts of home, those not in solitary experienced few real troubles in the penitentiary beyond the hardness of fellow prisoners and the profanity and violence which sometimes exploded among them. The food was edible despite the "wire worm" potatoes that "didn't go down so good at first" but which the prisoners "didn't mind so much after a while" (Swartzendruber 13). Mennonite

ministers were allowed to visit and to give church services; Kansas City pastor J.D. Mininger was the most notable of these, his work on behalf of imprisoned objectors well-recognized by the Mennonite community. Mennonite services often took the place of or were attended in addition to those offered by the prison chaplain, whose own services were, wrote Leatherman, distracted by the "considerable confusion and muffled curses and murmurings on almost ever side" (39). And, as in the military camps, objectors forged a sort of brotherhood with others imprisoned for conscience sake, working together on Star Paroles, worshipping together, sustaining one another's spirits in a bleak prison setting and in spite of a bleak future: the men believed from their sentences that they potentially faced years of such confinement, however tolerable prison life seemed.

Fortunately for these men, the government which once ignored the objectors' severe prison sentences changed its mind in early 1919 and began releasing objectors from penitentiaries. The transformation seemingly reflected the War Department's decision to return objectors to "civil life at the earliest practicable moment"--and so, perhaps, to be done with the conscientious objector problem (Peterson and Fite 267). In January, 113 incarcerated conscientious objectors were released from Leavenworth, and others soon followed. Neufeld, one of the first 113 released, relates in his diary the initial moment of freedom:

We were marched through one gate with a sentry. The other outside gates were open and we heard for the last time the word, forward march to which we have not heard the word 'halt' yet. Our feelings were such it cannot all be expressed We were glad to get out, and on the other hand sorrow to leave behind us over 3000 others prisoners who would value their freedom just as much as we did. (251-52)

Over the next weeks and months others would be granted their liberty, as Baker reversed every sentence, freeing all objectors from their confinement. The public and the press were outraged that Secretary Baker would liberate objectors at all, let alone before soldiers fighting in France returned home; it seemed the war's objectors had not only evaded their military duty, but were

now able to evade their punishment as well even as other Americans remained stuck in France. An open letter to Baker in *The Kansas City Times* argued that "By this act you have put a premium on cowardice. You have rewarded evasion of duty. You are permitting these men to return to their homes even in advance of the fighting men of the camps" ("An Insult" 9). A resolution passed in the Nebraska legislature protested "the action of Secretary of War Baker in rewarding the slacker and the traitor which we stamp as a direct insult to the brave soldiers who so valiantly went forth to defend democracy and freedom against the awful blight of Kaiserism" ("Resolution" 2); Kansas and Oklahoma passed similar resolutions. Even two years after the Armistice, when the last 33 conscientious objectors were finally released, the public had not forgiven those who shirked their military obligation. Baker's belated act was likewise met with outrage.

The American people did not soon forget the Mennonites' objection to war and apparent disloyalty to the American cause. Long after the Armistice, when the world had been made safe for democracy and soldiers began their journeys home to a hero's welcome, American citizens still expressed indignation at Mennonites and other wartime dissenters. Great War nativism continued even when battles "over there" ceased, driven now by the belief that American troops had secured victory and so had become the world's democratic savior. Surely God blessed America. Like the victorious soldiers, Mennonite conscientious objectors returned to their communities and were joyfully reunited with families and church; unlike soldiers, objectors were reviled by neighbors who were not Mennonites and who could still not understand or sympathize with their stance. The soldiers who did not return home alive from the Western Front only fueled the citizens' anger, however minute the loss of nearly 50,000 American lives was compared to that of other warring countries. To the American public, it seemed Mennonite objectors had been comfortably detained in military camps while other young men lost their lives to secure freedom for the good of all people, including the very objectors who would not help the democratic cause (Homan 143).

"Never Such Innocence": The Price of War, The Price of Objection

We in the late twentieth century recognize the Great War as a period in which much was lost: a generation's men, a pastoral landscape, Europe's historic architecture, ancient notions of bravery and heroism. Pictures from post-war Europe show the war's costs, the destruction of villages clearly evident in the grainy black and whites. Vast rows of crosses mark fallen soldiers' graves, emblematic of wartime costs in terms of human life. Innocence cannot be so easily memorialized by portraits or stone, yet we are well aware that innocence too was lost in the war, and that the Great War perpetuated far-reaching alterations in worldwide culture, politics, beliefs. Authors writing during the war and long after tried to express this loss of innocence and the remnants of change precipitated by the war, as Philip Larkin does in "MCMXIV," where he notes that "Never such innocence again" would touch our world. Larkin was of course writing about the young recruits who in 1914 anxiously awaited their chance to fight Britain's battles, seeking their moment of military glory and a respite from cricket matches and peaceful afternoon teas. The phrase "Never such innocence again" reflects well the predominating view of the world held after the war, after so much loss, after the world was transformed completely. Certainly those who battled on the Western Front and those who experienced loss after loss on the home front knew what it meant to sacrifice innocence to the war god, and what if anything was to be gained by that sacrifice. It was about these people Larkin wrote, whose blissful parties on the dawn of war would never be the same as the somber soirees at its dusk.

Sensibility, moral codes, gentleman's warfare, optimism, civil liberties: these became victims of the Great War, irrevocably lost when German troops began their march through Belgium and the Allied forces responded, vanished in America when President Wilson declared war. Yet are not other losses more significant, more unsettling? This is hard to say, since quantifying loss is difficult if not impossible. We can note that the Western Europe countryside was destroyed, and may recount the number of villages shredded to rubble by artillery fire, but cannot with accuracy measure the felt loss of those whose homes, farms, and livelihoods were demolished by warring armies. We may also stagger at the massive human loss, the tremendous

number of Great War dead: 3.5 million Central Powers soldiers and 5.1 million Allied soldiers died, meaning that more than 5,600 men perished every day during the war (Gilbert 541).

Statistics obfuscate, though, numbing us to the true loss incurred by millions more who mourned the deaths of fathers, sons, brothers, lovers. Nor does the count of wartime dead include those who were maimed by gunfire, whose lungs were burned by mustard gas, whose minds were addled by images of the Armageddon. The burden of such loss seems immense, even if in the late twentieth century we cannot wholly feel its weight.

In light of this destruction, addressing the wartime losses incurred by Mennonites and their young men becomes more difficult. Mennonite objectors did not have to face the searing fire of flame throwers, the blinding haze of poisonous gas, the constant thud of artillery shells. Only a few noncombatant Mennonites witnessed battlefield horrors, though none were killed in action; objectors working in France with the American Friends Service Committee would see the devastation, but rarely what caused it. Some attempting to quantify the war's costs might rightly argue that because of their nonresistance, Mennonites remained relatively untouched by the scourge of war, their losses nowhere near that experienced by so many others. We must recognize that such arguments have merit, considering again the vast numbers who died on Europe's killing fields. Nonetheless, Mennonites in Great War America experienced losses too. Many Mennonite men perished while in military camps from influenza, pleurisy, pneumonia, and other diseases. Their families also would mourn their deaths, just as millions mourned during that era. Other losses were less tangible. The Great War severed ties between Mennonites and their neighbors, and eroded some Mennonites' confidence in America, its government and its citizenry. However insubstantial these losses may have seemed, they yet transformed the Mennonite church who--like much of the world--would never have such innocence again.

Mennonite young men returning to their homes following the Armistice entered communities that were many times fractured. Some Mennonite men who had chosen combatancy or even noncombatancy during the war did not return to their home communities: because they were not welcomed, or because they feared disapproval from their families and

congregations. In this sense, church communities were broken, as were the larger communities in which the men lived. For, however much Mennonites were instructed by biblical principles to love their neighbors, such proved difficult when the wounds caused by wartime nativism were still fresh and deep. The mistreatment, the ethnic slurs, and the destruction of property made it difficult for Mennonites to trust those outside their flock. Relationships between Mennonites and others remained strained, especially as suspicion of foreigners and of the seemingly disloyal continued far after the war's conclusion. Intolerance for hyphenated Americans in turn caused Mennonites to lose part of their ethnic identity, as many relinquished their use of the German language and so lost a portion of their rich heritage. Additionally, the Mennonites' faith in the American government eroded during the war and after. Their frustrated attempts to secure exemption or safety for their young men challenged the notion that the government would help them, as did the apparently illusory nature of Washington's promises. Even more progressive Mennonites now refrained from involvement in government issues after the war, refusing to vote or to run for elections. Ultimately, the war forced Mennonites into what Juhnke would call a "permanent crisis of identity": they discovered that to be good American citizens in the twentieth century, they would have to compromise their citizenship in God's kingdom (*Vision* 241). They could not retain full membership in both, not when the one demanded a weakened allegiance to the other. For this reason, many Mennonites embraced more fiercely the doctrine of two kingdoms, withdrawing even more from the carnal world and insulating themselves further within their ethnic communities. The Mennonites' faith in American democracy had diminished, as had their trust in anyone beyond their presumed peaceable kingdom.

Yet just as the larger world experienced transformation from the destruction of World War I, so too did the Mennonite Church. Through conscription, Mennonite young men made contact with the "other kingdom" from the moment they left for military camps, their narrow-world innocence lost in smoky railroad cars. Although seemingly inured to the soldiers' worldly ways, the men were also susceptible to the other influences of the larger culture: to its language and to its progressive worldview. Many objectors returned to their Mennonite communities with

a broader understanding of their world, and with the desire to enact change in that world rather than remaining separated from it. Forward-looking young Mennonites accused the church of myopia following the war, of attending only to preserving the Mennonite Church rather than healing an obviously wounded civilization. These Mennonites challenged the church to express the Gospel outwardly rather than living the Gospel in isolation. Some in the church responded to this challenge, volunteering for work in American Friends reconstruction and supporting other war relief agencies. Jacob C. Meyer, whose diary appears in this edition, was at the forefront of this progressive movement, organizing the Mennonite Young People's Movement to address what he believed the church's needed transformation and the vitality of its witness.

The greater Mennonite Church was transformed too by the shared loss of civil liberties during the war and by a shared persecution. Military conscription affected all Mennonite sects, forcing each group to recover and reaffirm the Anabaptist doctrine of nonresistance. After the relative tranquillity of so many years in America, World War I had caught Mennonites unaware, and so unable to clearly articulate a nonresistant stance so deeply embedded in their heritage. The war and the struggles of conscientious objectors forced Mennonite groups to turn again to their nonresistant testimony, to explore that testimony in light of modernity and global warfare, and to make it more than just a way of life for Mennonite people. This they readily did, affirming as a larger body that Christians must refuse to bear arms and must remain a nonresistant people. To revitalize their peace testimony following the war, Mennonite groups created official peace committees, generated literature outlining their peace stance, and joined together with other historic peace churches (the Friends and the Brethren) to propagate their message of nonresistance.

As a result, when World War II threatened in the late 1930s, Mennonites were much better prepared to witness peace, their leaders better organized to share that witness with America and its government. Rather than remain stymied by the inaction, uncertainty, and disagreement which sometimes characterized Mennonites in the Great War, varied Mennonite groups constructed a Mennonite Central Peace Committee in 1939, believing that another draft

was imminent. This committee erected a Plan of Action in case of war; accepted also by other peace churches and then given to governmental leaders, their plan helped resolve conscientious objector problems in the Second World War. Mennonites were more effective in having their needs considered by the government and, unlike the Selective Service Act of 1917, the country's 1940 draft law included provisions for conscientious objectors which allowed them to "be assigned work of national importance under civilian direction" (Hershberger 124). When the new Selective Service Act was instituted, conscientious objectors had the opportunity to choose Civilian Public Service (CPS) as an alternative, and could work in church-supported CPS camps in forestry, park service, soil conservation, agriculture, dairy herd testing, public health, land reclamation. The freedoms conscientious objectors lost in the Great War therefore smoothed the road for later objectors, whose experiences during the Second World War were much more positive and their roles much more useful than that of their Great War brethren.

The trials of World War I also helped forge a stronger Mennonite identity, as the varying Mennonite groups jointly affirmed their nonresistant faith, and so their separation from the predominating American culture (Juhnke, *Vision* 245). With this Mennonite identity in tact, the differing sects began working in concord after the war, developing in 1920 an inter-Mennonite relief agency to respond to the needs of a war-torn world. At first the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) concentrated its efforts on an impoverished Soviet Union but expanded its work with time. As Homan argues, the Mennonite Central Committee successfully addressed many problems raised by the war and its aftermath. Through the MCC, Mennonites found they could cooperate among groups; discovered a way to express their allegiance to America and therefore redress the wartime notion of slackerism and disloyalty; and practiced the social gospel newly embraced by many of the church's youth (172-73). The MCC rose, as it were, from the ashes of World War I: the immense loss experienced by so many of the world compelled Mennonites to create a relief agency which eighty years later still has great influence in developing and third-world nations, as well as in depressed American communities.

The Great War has long been recognized as the time when Western Civilization slid from innocent optimism into its modern malaise: a defining moment in our collective history when the barbarity of mankind reigned supreme and so destroyed a world. A new world emerged from the carnage, one which gave us Hitler, Bolshevism, and Fascism, but also fostered national sovereignty and provided the first real experiment in international cooperation. The gains made by civilization from the war were not of course worth its destruction, but they were gains nonetheless. On a much smaller scale, the same might be said for the Mennonite Church and its conscientious objectors. To many Mennonites the Great War was remembered as a difficult time in the church's history when the freedom to express one's beliefs--and to live by those beliefs--was threatened, both by governmental policy and by the nativistic masses. The war was remembered as a time of grave persecution for Mennonite young men in military camps, whose steadfast faith in nonresistance and suffering love ironically instigated violence and intolerant hatred. And it was remembered as a time when much was lost: trust, liberty, even life, that of the Hofer brothers, martyrs for the nonresistant cause, and that of many others who died far from home. Yet as with the greater "worldly" kingdom, a new Mennonitism emerged from the war, more vital in its nonresistant witness, more active in its outward manifestations of the Gospel's message. The church's conscientious objectors were at the center of that transformation, their experiences in military camps and federal penitentiaries the catalyst for change. The American Mennonite Church would not be the same following World War I, nor would its young men. True, for anyone the war touched there would never be such innocence again. But for Mennonites at least, what was lost in the war's firestorm refined not only those who had walked through its flames, but the greater church body as well.

Immediacy, Directness, Narrative, Change: Diaries of Mennonite Objectors

In the years directly following the Great War, few Mennonite conscientious objectors came forward to publicly relate their experiences as forced members of the United States army. Some believed their memories of life in military camps too painful to recall; better just to enjoy

the blessings of community and family, rather than to dwell on trials now in the past. The Mennonite objector Payson Miller noted in 1924 that

I do not like to think back to those days. I do so only because I am requested to do it. The reason I do not like to do it is because one does not like to recall those times in which he feels that he was grossly misunderstood, and in which he may even yet be misunderstood by many good friends. It is very difficult for one who has always tried to be inoffensive and orderly in conduct to take an attitude which in the minds of many people brands him as a criminal. (151)

Robert Sayre writes that for World War I conscientious objectors the "very core and essence of their identity" during the war was "the great complexity, painfulness, uniqueness, and privacy of their experience" ("Rhetorical Defenses" 73). Thus developed a certain difficulty for the men. The trials of World War I helped forge Mennonite conscientious objectors' identities, although those very trials were often too painful to discuss; men could therefore not explain a significant part in their lives, not only because they wished to forget but also because they still feared retribution from those who did not understand their stance. For as with Miller objection to the war still sat uncomfortably for Mennonite men, who were self-conscious about their dissenting opinion and their seeming disloyalty, and of the resultant strained relationships with neighbors. Their silence after the war purchased them tranquillity, the opportunity to return to a life of apparent normality as upstanding American citizens. And so, while the tide of Great War autobiographical literature swelled in the 1920s and 1930s, while privates and entertainers and generals and chaplains gave voice to their experiences during war, Mennonites remained quiet, their testimonies about the war known only to close friends and family, if at all.

With time Mennonite men began to tell their stories. Their motivations for doing so were varied and for some can only be guessed. In many cases, as with Clarence Shank, writing about Great War experiences was an act of preservation "for the benefit" of descendants who might wish to know about their ancestors' roles in history (40). Others, like Noah Leatherman,

shared their testimony about time in military camps because they believed doing so would spread the nonresistant message and might, as Leatherman writes, "strengthen that inward conviction in the hearts of many, who may be called for a bold, yet humble defense of the faith in the Lord Jesus to demonstrate the seemingly lost vision of the Prince of Peace to a dying world" (3). At times Mennonite church historians and publication editors urged the men to write or speak about the details of their experiences. Periodicals like the *Gospel Herald* and *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* provided a forum for Great War objectors to share their nonresistant witness with other Mennonite readers, and both autobiographical reflections and diary excerpts appear in these as well as other denominational magazines. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, historians Juhnke, Keith Sprunger, and John Waltner spearheaded a comprehensive collection of oral histories from Mennonite Great War objectors; their *Voices Against War* is a detailed guide to the 270 taped interviews of Mennonite men willing to give testimony to their lives in military camps, what they saw and what they felt. However, some objectors' narratives remain far more anonymous than those few who enjoyed publication or who found voice in the Showalter Oral History collection. Their slight sketches were shakily typed onto a few pages, carbon copied, and given to Mennonite archives without a date marking the time of writing, nor with any indication as to the narrator's role in the text's production.

By telling their stories years after the war's conclusion, many Mennonite men were afforded the luxury of time and distance, especially those who were interviewed for the Showalter collection, who in the 1960s and 1970s published their memories about the war, or to whom mimeographed autobiographical sketches are attributed. The intervening years allowed these men to view their roles as Great War objectors with some detachment; the span of half a century gave them ample opportunity to reflect on their conscientious objection and the influence of their First World War experiences on their post-war lives. The maturation of the Mennonites' twentieth-century peace witness and its application to later American conflicts may also have influenced these Great War narratives, as objectors from the First World War could see more clearly the ways their experiences were uniquely--even painfully--different from their World War

II and Korean War brethren. Some Great War objectors might well have noted that their part in America's history had changed, forever, how the American government dealt with, and how the Mennonite Church provided for, conscientious objectors. For instance, in his "Experiences of a C.O. in World War I," Ernest H. Miller writes "I believe I can truthfully say that our MCC, the CPS in World War II, our Voluntary Service Program . . . even some of the mission work in our church, and helpful reforms in our mental hospitals were an outgrowth of our experiences in World War I" (12-13). Miller wrote his autobiography in 1972, allowing him to see more certainly the trajectory of his Great War hardships, and to envision more clearly the role he played in transforming the Mennonite Church. Irrefutably, his 1972 perspective changed his understanding of 1918 events, as is the case when any writer peers back over a life long-ago lived and writes what he sees.

The diaries of Mennonite conscientious objectors provide a sense of immediacy not evident in the texts produced long after the war's conclusion. This immediacy is the special province of the diary, a characteristic which separates the genre from other forms of life-writing, and which gives us perspectives on history as it is lived more than as it is remembered. In his book on war narratives, Samuel Hynes notes that this "immediacy and directness" is a virtue in war diaries, which "tend to level war experience, reporting the ordinary days with the extraordinary ones, the boredom as well as the excitement, and [give to diaries] close texture, the grain of life in war" (xiv). Though writing here about the diaries of combat soldiers, the same might certainly apply to the "immediacy and directness" of conscientious objectors' texts. Rather than reporting only the graver moments of their Great War confinement, as their autobiographies tend to do, objectors' diaries capture everything, the extraordinary moments and the mundane--nearly as such events occur.

We recognize, of course, that this immediacy, this directness, is not perfect: there can never be a written representation of experience without the obvious mediation of language. What we read in autobiographic writing, including diaries, is but the metaphoric representation of actual experience, the recreation of the self likewise a symbolic identity. Scholars have long

recognized this necessary use of metaphor in the construction of meaning, in "grasp[ing], as James Olney writes, "the unknown through the known" and in "connect[ing] the known of ourselves to the unknown of the world" (*Metaphor* 32). The only tool available to make experience knowable to one's self and to others is metaphor: the writer sees his world through a prism of language, language itself being "the common possession of his culture . . . filled with the assumed values of his society" (Spengemann and Lundquist 502). The language of a diary therefore reflects not only the self in a certain place and time, but also the self constructed by that place and time.

Despite the necessary mediation of language through metaphor, in their diaries we see more clearly the Mennonite men's recollection of the Great War without the detritus of chronos, of space, of life. As the writer May Sarton once opined, "Autobiography is 'what I remember,' whereas a journal has to do with what I am, in this instant" (79). We need only look at differences between Jacob C. Meyer's diary and his "Reflections of a Conscience Objector," published in 1967, to note how time's intervention changes and revises "what I remember." We might almost believe as we read an original diary that we are getting a truer representation of the man and his mission--truer, at least, than an autobiography written years later which is perfectly wrought, the life conforming seemingly seamlessly to a narrative structure. The difference between diary and autobiography, according to theorist Roger Cardinal, is as the difference between a snapshot and a studio portrait: the one, characterized by "touching contingency, being at once gauche, trite, and poignant"; the other, aesthetically pleasing, but with blemishes and the true nature of one's appearance transformed by the photographer's hand (78). Thus with the diaries from Mennonite conscientious objectors we have the snapshot of the objectors' military life rather than the portrait. It is a representation perhaps less artful than autobiography, but also perhaps more accurate in rendering Great War experiences as the men lived them, for there was no real opportunity as they were writing to see the greater import of their witness; to understand fully the ways their hardships would transform the church and its future objectors; to know completely

how their lives would be different following the war, nor how the war would ask them to view those lives.

With the objectors' diaries, readers discover the instant, rather than the memory. Unable to look back at the experience in its entirety and know more certainly than what events were significant, a diarist had only the day's events to recall, and decided at the point of writing what seemed significant to relate. The diarist no doubt chose what was meaningful because of the day's events, but also through his understanding of those events, an understanding grounded in the way he viewed his self, his culture, his Mennonite faith, and the church's historical past. The oft-repeated argument that because of their immediacy diaries lack the self-reflective nature of autobiography is therefore specious, as diarists must certainly reflect on each day's events and do so only through their conceptualization of the self, something Nussbaum notes: "[A diary] makes meaning inherent in the choice of words, the sequence of phrases, and the assignment of dialogue to self and other. The articulation of the event is itself an evaluative act--word itself a representation of reality complicated by self, culture, and history" (137). A diarist, then, does not merely mindlessly write about the day's events without contemplating those events, what seems significant to mention and what not, nor does he write in a vacuum. Instead, the act of creating a diary becomes, as Nussbaum notes, an evaluative act, demanding the writer's attention to the self and to the world he inhabits. Because these writers are in Howells' terms "circumstanced" by the world around them--by past events, by the social and cultural milieus in which they lived and from which they derived their identity--their diaries allow readers to see the "circumstances" that informed and formed them, and so provide a view not only of the singular selves, but of the historical past in which those selves developed.

What happens, then, when a writer looks back over his day and decides what experiences deserve recall in his diary and what should be left out? Why not include everything in writing, from the perception of the morning upon awakening to the details of lunch time conversation to the day's final thoughts before bedtime? Impossible, we realistically realize, since an infinity of time and paper would be required for such an undertaking, and since our often-flimsy memories

forgivingly do not remember everything about our days. So a diarist picks and chooses, and we as readers may wonder why a diarist finds significant what he had for lunch one day but not that President Wilson's definition of noncombatancy was finally made law. For this reason, studying diaries can sometimes become maddening, especially when the diarists concentrate their entries on the seeming minutiae of military camps rather than on what we now know were the bigger issues, the persecution they faced and what they believed or felt about the stance they were taking. Reading the Mennonite objectors John Hege's or Benjamin Ebersole's Great War diaries, for example, can be a frustrating endeavor, as the men merely list visitors to the camp, meals consumed, weather, trips to the laundry, baths. On November 11, 1918, Ebersole writes only "The war ended." So? we may be compelled to ask the text, for alas! the writer is long dead. What did that mean to you? The war of four years and millions of dead, the war to which you objected so vehemently, was over, and you had nothing to say?

Because of these complications and frustrations, studying a diary requires more, and offers more, than just a text for perusal. The sometimes uneven nature of a diary demands especial attention to its nuances, and asks that we pay closer attention to what the diary extends us, as readers. For the prolific diarist Anais Nin has noted that for readers, the diary becomes a mirror into which we peer--and many times see our own selves. Coming from Nin, the concept startles; some would probably hope never to see their selves in Nin's admitted sex-starved promiscuity and insecurities. However, those whose lives have been circumstanced in ways similar to Nin's will no doubt glance into her diary as a looking-glass, and will be pleased and perhaps repulsed by what they see there. In the same way, the Mennonite objectors' diaries become as a mirror too, reflecting the writers' selves but also the selves of those readers who share similar faiths, similar backgrounds. Mennonite readers of the writers' era would, then, undoubtedly see in the diaries a shadow of their own selves, struggling to sustain a peaceful witness during war. Perhaps more significantly, for even contemporary Mennonite readers the diaries become more a mirror than transparent glass. Such readers see in these diaries someone they know all too well, someone with the same beliefs and ideas, perhaps even with the same

ancestors and name. In many ways, the Mennonite self present in the writer becomes, as it were, the Mennonite self present in the reader.

Though caught in the looking-glass, as readers we are demanded a sense of detachment as well, enabling us to question what we can of the evaluative act that propels a diary's creation: Why does the author fail to mention the significance of an event? Why are some diary entries so sparse? What do these entries tell us about the diarist or about his condition in camp? Many times, such inquiry can uncover interesting information about the diarist, his craft, and the time in which he wrote. We may wonder, for example, why Meyer's diary often lacks the reflective nature of other texts. Fifty years later, when excerpts from his diary were published in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Meyer admitted that he felt the diary needed to be written in a special coded script, so that if confiscated, no one in the camp or outside could be implicated and so tried under the Espionage and Sedition Acts. This apparently was not a fear shared by Hostetler, who said in his diary "we aren't allowed to write anything about military affairs (so here goes) in letters . . . the officers Don't want us to criticize them in our letters but here I can" (211). For Meyer, then, the evaluative act was guided in part by his fear of a possible reader, and he included and excluded information in his diary (so he says) based on that fear; for Hostetler, the evaluative act was guided in part by his desire to complain about military officers and his lack of another outlet to make those complaints heard.

Perhaps more significantly, though, the evaluative act necessary in composing a diary is also informed by the writer's conception of the self; what a writer believes significant enough about his life to record depends, to be sure, on what he believes about himself and his place in the world. In *The Hidden Writer: Diaries and the Creative Life*, Alexandra Johnson notes that keeping a diary requires some sense of self-invention, an irony given the nature of the discourse and its seeming invitation to tell all. Always living behind some mask, though, writers choose even in their diaries to create a self, and what they choose to write--or choose to omit--is based on the self they have invented. For Mennonite conscientious objectors (as, of course, for all writers), their churches and home communities, their past experiences and their faith, shaped the

selves they presented in their diaries. Ever aware of their church's martyred history and their own potential role as martyrs, some writers--like Hostetler and the Hutterite John Waldner--created a self to fit their perception of martyrdom. What both men include in their diaries reflects the "martyr spirit" celebrated by denominational publications: the moments of grave abuse and of suffering love, the moments when their nonresistant witness proved valuable. On the other hand, the martyred self is virtually absent from the Amishman Meyer's diary. The self he invents is rather one of the intellectual, imposed upon by the unwise government, living amidst others who share his faith but not his past nor his future. This understanding of his self, too, compels him to include some information in his diary while excluding other.

As mutual members of the Mennonite Church and as young men experiencing a similar and miserable war-time fate, however, the men's selves were informed by many of the same forces. In some ways, then, the men's texts--and so the self each has created--share several traits. At center is the characteristic brevity of the diaries; the entries are quantitatively shorter than those of other diaries published in the years following the war. Were the writers concerned, as Meyer later admitted, with indictment under Espionage laws? After all, the diarists had plenty of time each day to write at great length about their experiences, although relatively few chose to keep diaries--and even fewer wrote at any length in the diaries they kept. The brevity of most diary entries does not thereby always make for compelling reading, yet it does suggest something about life in military camps and again, about a writer's necessary evaluative act when composing his diary. That Gaeddert wrote only "Hauled Garbage" for each entry during one week in December may seem monotonous for readers, but it reflects also the monotony of Gaeddert's life: the stultifying boredom of doing the same thing every day, a job made more detestable by Gaeddert's education and by his conscientious discomfort with even doing the chore. Hence the relatively short and many times nonreflective entries in each man's diary may acutely reflect the conditions of military camps, of the writer's own mental and physical dullness precipitated by confinement in barracks. For conscientious objectors, there was not much to do during their detainment, and so not much to write. The lack of momentous occasions to mention thus also

guided a writer's evaluative act, limiting the possible scope of topics for him to explore, informing always the self he had invented.

Most significantly, however, the general sparseness of the Mennonite diaries' entries reflects the Mennonite impulse towards self-effacement. The very nature of keeping a diary is to center on the self and to be preoccupied with the self as it operates in the world. However the diary seemingly contradicts the Mennonite teaching of humility, of submission to God and of avoiding the sin of pride. Focusing too intently on the self, reflecting too deeply on one's thoughts and feelings, mentioning one's good deeds and heroics: such would suggest a love of self rather than of God, as well as a concern for selfhood rather than the vitality of one's religious community. Robert Fothergill has noted that in most diaries, there is a "gesture of self-effacement" when writers refuse to use the first-person "I" that would otherwise govern verb after verb, page after page" (87). It would seem that in Mennonite diaries this "gesture" is intensified, not only in the relative lack of the first-person pronoun, but in the tension created by the diary between writing at length about the self and effacing the self, between the virtue of humility and the vice of pride.

This self-effacing nature colored most Mennonite writing of the era, not just that of autobiographical texts. As Al Reimer has noted in *Mennonite Literary Voices*, much of Mennonite writing up until the contemporary period was marked by starkness, the lack of metaphoric language, a "plain, unrheterical style" (6). Reimer argues that writing of turn-of-the-century Mennonites, like all other aspects of the Mennonite faith, was guided by biblical principle. Mennonites believed in the literal interpretation of the Bible, the source of all Truth, and so also believed all other texts should be but an elaboration of that one Truth. And to elaborate on biblical truth, the texts required

a clear, simple, straightforward style scraped clean (or almost clean) of tropes and other verbal ornamentation so that it would not be a meretricious literary language or a casuistical rhetoric to 'confuse,' but a plain literal language of truth and life for the common man, neither more nor less. (5)

In any text, then, the appearance of a self through style or literary adornment detracted from the Living Word, and was therefore unrighteous. Because the Mennonite conscientious objectors were no doubt required to read texts adhering to the "Mennonite" rhetorical style in their upbringing--the writings of Menno Simons and Anabaptist leaders, other Mennonite devotional and religious aids--these works became a model for objectors' own writing, informing their longing to keep always in the background, with the Good News at the fore. As a result their diaries, as well as autobiographies, conform to a seemingly straightforward and brief recitation of their days' events.

A seemingly straightforward recitation: seemingly only because the accumulation of each day's recitation has embedded within it much more than we can at first imagine, the Mennonite rhetorical style reflecting more about the men and their culture than even they probably thought possible. For although diaries deal with chronology, with the flotsam and jetsam of daily life as it is lived daily, this in no way means that a diary has no continuity, that each day's entry is a discrete entity, not even that a diary exists without narrative structure. The discourse demands that we read diaries differently than some forms of narrative, yet we may still see within their pages a story in the making, a story marked not by consistency and teleology but by change, "the only constant in the daily depiction of the self" (Nussbaum 134). Thus in reading the diaries of Mennonite conscientious objectors, we may sense the development of a narrative predicated on change; the diaries reveal a story of transformation told serially through daily entries, a narrative created without--most likely--the conscious understanding on the writer's part that this is indeed a narrative he is creating.

Language itself is one way to mark the writers' sometimes subtle transformations within their narratives. Because language is "the common possession of [a diarist's] culture . . . filled with the assumed values of his society" (Spengemann and Lundquist 502), we may examine in the diaries how the language used by the writers reflects the assumed values of Mennonite culture, but also how changes in the writers' cultures, and so in their selves, is reflected by the language they use. Consequently, diaries show not only the ways each writer's language

represents his own reality "complicated" by time and space, but how the reality of time and space changes the language he uses.

The inherent values of Mennonitism resonate throughout each diary, no surprise when we realize how deeply those values were entrenched in Mennonite objectors; indeed, those whose Mennonite heritage was not so deeply entrenched often chose other paths during the war, accepting noncombatant or even combatant duty. The language each diarist employs, informed by scripture and by the Mennonite culture, reflects so well the values of that culture and the importance of scripture in its sustenance. Both overtly and through the language used to describe experience, the objectors' diaries clearly express the need for separation from the worldly kingdom, the significance of the nonresistant stance and that stance's biblical basis, and their complete reliance on God in the face of trials and persecution. The men often include biblical verses in their daily texts; most likely, these were quoted from memory rather than copied directly from the Bible, suggesting the men's familiarity with the Bible and its import in their everyday lives. At times, the writers even use scripture to describe their experience, as Ura Hostetler does when he figures himself as the wise virgin, "gathering up oil for future use [so that] When the bridegroom cometh may we have our vessels and lamp all filled" (234). The Bible's significance as a text is also noted directly throughout the diaries, as the writers mention studying the Bible alone or with others, an activity which consumes a good deal of time in the camps. The Mennonite emphasis on community colors the diaries too, for each man utilizes language which expresses a desire for connectedness with others rather than lonely isolation; the diaries are replete with references to "we" and to "the boys," affirming the importance of a corporate fellowship and of acting as a group rather than as an individual. Additionally, each writer notes not only his lonely separation from home communities, but also his desire to forge community within the camps, through visitation and through Bible studies, worship services, and Sunday school--all important institutions in the Mennonite Church.

While remaining true to their Mennonite convictions, life in a military camp nonetheless transformed these writers, a transformation which is inevitable when two cultures collide. This

change was probably not noticeable to the diarists, concerned more with writing about their daily experiences than viewing their day-to-day lives in toto. As readers viewing each diary entry as part of a longer serial narrative, we may see more clearly the transformation made within the writers, evident especially in subtle linguistic shifts when the writers take on the discourse of the dominant culture, the military. This use of military language becomes a significant characteristic in their texts, reflecting so clearly the ways living within one discourse community can challenge and change the language used by a writer to figure his experiences.

Hostetler's diary offers the most compelling example of this transformation. In his diary's first entries, written in May 1918, Hostetler uses language clearly reflective of the culture from which he has come. His initial entries teem with references to God, his spiritual existence, and his desire to remain separated from "this cold and cruel world" (207): "Why does God allow such man killing devices to be carried on and practiced as they do here?" (207); "Have nothing to do but write and study Gods word and talk with him" (207); "Glory to God some of us conscientious brethren came to see me this eve" (207). Though he continues to mention his spiritual life throughout the journal, we can note as well a perceptible shift in the language he employs. He increasingly writes about the pleasures of military life, laughing in the kitchen, swimming while on a picnic, worshipping with his brethren. Most significantly, though, military terms begin to infiltrate his diary. He mentions the "mess," another sergeant's "detail," the "good grub" he received. On August 22, 1918, Hostetler even defines slang used in the camp: "'Where do you get that stuff' is a common expression used here when ever some body does something that he shouldn't" (220). And in his final entry, though back on civilian land because furloughed to a farm, Hostetler writes that he had to "police up the horse stable" (220), a clear application of military language he assuredly would never have used before being conscripted. Employment of military words appear in each diary included here, not only Hostetler's. For example Meyer, who we might believe more conscious of such language usage because of his advanced Harvard degree, nonetheless writes about "double-timing" back to his "bunk" and about his own "mess," as well as taking other objectors on "detail." Coming from the pens of pacific people, military

jargon seems an uncomfortable fit in texts strong on biblical imagery and scriptural references to peacemaking. Still the men utilize such language with apparent ease, perhaps not even aware of the words they write nor--at least--of those words' origins in an institution they despise. This presence of military lingo in the diaries suggests the power one discourse community can have over another, a power that seems compelling especially because the two cultures of military and Mennonitism are so apparently inconsonant.

Although the Mennonite men began to utilize military jargon in the diaries, they at no time fully embraced the values of the military culture, as they understood those values. The diarists were not transformed to the point where they took up arms, went to France, jumped into the trenches, and began shelling the Germans; the Mennonite impulse towards nonresistance remained a strong one for them, and they were steadfast in their pacifistic convictions throughout their internment. As we read the diaries, though, we may sense some kind of change in the men beyond their use of military lingo--a change, as noted above, which proved significant after the war, when the men returned to their home communities more concerned about their outward mission in the world than about the Mennonite Church's seemingly myopic vision.

Many of these Mennonites grew up believing that anyone not sharing their separatist and nonresistant faith lacked true spirituality; anyone associated with warfare was part of the carnal world, was not of God and did not know God. Abuse in military camps only reaffirmed this notion, suggesting to Mennonites that those in the military machine were evil, vile, and blood-thirsty, consumed by the "killing devices" with which they "practiced" (Hostetler 207). Yet not everyone in the military lived up--or, rather, down--to this image. Mennonite men met officers and soldiers in camp who were kind and considerate, not only because Secretary Baker ordered the officers to be so, but because they had sincere compassion for the objectors' plight. The diarists often mention these men who showed consideration for the objectors, who helped them into conscientious objector detachments, who saved the men from the wrath of fellow soldiers. Gaeddert, for example, notes that "officers were very kind" when he moved to a new detention camp (164); several days later, he "had a nice little talk" with his captain (165). Meyer writes

throughout his diary about the friendship he forged with his officers, for whom he did chores and made furniture. And in one instance Hostetler, frustrated by the "hard-boiled" nature of his officer, writes that a sergeant quelled the officer's fury (219). The men's recognition in their diaries of kind military men certainly provides balance to the many tales of persecution, showing that some in the military were not the evil incarnate Mennonite objectors may have at first believed them to be.

By coming into contact with these men, and with a world beyond their Mennonite communities, the objectors certainly must have been changed--both in the understanding of the world and of those in it. Some Mennonite men discovered that not everyone in the carnal world was an immoral ogre, despite their misguided belief in war; as Meyer wrote to *The Gospel Herald*, "Anyone who doubts the moral capacity of an officer in the army needs but a few interviews to be convinced that they have strict standards of morality . . . I have wondered how many Christians would make [such] a perfect record" (585). The way to reach those in the world was not be retreat to a Mennonite community, but by speaking truth to those who needed to hear it, through relief work, through preaching and practicing a social gospel, and through living an upstanding life. This Meyer recognizes in the same letter, where he writes that because the objectors were "epistles read of all men," they needed to provide witness of their life in Christ to all, not just to other objectors and other Mennonites. Meyer likewise applied this theology to his decision to work with the American Friends Service Committee and to develop the Mennonite Young People's Movement following the war, as did Neufeld, who after the war wrote to the Mennonite publisher H.P. Krehbiel hoping that as an architectural student in Chicago he would be viewed by the church as a missionary who wished "to save souls for Christ" (8 February 1922). Through their contact with the alien world that was nonetheless different than they at first believed, many Mennonite men saw more clearly what their mission was to that world and in this way they were transformed.

We could almost believe that life in military camps precipitated a conversion of sorts for these writers, though not a conversion in the spiritual sense associated with that word. The type

of conversion used so often as a structuring device in spiritual autobiography does not much appear in these diaries, not because diaries do not allow for such conversions but because these writers had already experienced a religious transformation. Rejecting a sinful past and recognizing the need for God's grace was part of the Mennonite baptismal rite, and the rite itself--or a certificate authorizing that baptism had occurred--was needed to secure one's religious exemption from combatancy during the Great War. Yet again, these diaries reflect some sense of conversion, as the writers are changed through their military camp experiences and emerge from the Great War transformed not only by the hardships and persecution they faced, but also by their association with a world greater than their own. As Hynes recognizes in *The Soldiers' Tale*, war writing often finds a home in the genre of conversion literature; life-writing about war, Hynes argues, is always "a testament of a profound inner change in the teller" (5). The lives of Mennonite conscientious objectors, so unlike combat soldiers in every other way, thus share with soldiers the sense that war has changed them; through some type of conversion the "war has forged a Self" (Hynes 5), however different the conscientious objectors' selves were from those of the soldiers whose ethos they opposed.

But conversion in another sense occurs within these diaries as well, beyond the conversions of the writers themselves. In a study of the rhetorical techniques employed by men in their war diaries, Sayre examines the published texts of predominantly political and socialist objectors, and finds there a keen attention to conversion, but with a difference. Sayre writes:

Where works in the Augustinian tradition recount the author's conversion to a new faith and where most prison and captivity narratives recount a trial of faith, the most powerful of these CO autobiographies describe CO conversion of other COs to a more radical faith and then these men's power to move other soldiers and guards, other prisoners [at federal penitentiaries], and so the very people who have opposed them, their enemies, and, by the extension, their readers and the public. (70)

That the diaries of Mennonite conscientious objectors were not meant to be public documents matters little, for the diaries--like the memoirs published by other objectors to the Great War--express the significance of such conversion moments: moments when they were able to convince fellow objectors to remain strong; moments when they shared their nonresistant witness with soldiers and officers; moments when a soldier asked more questions about their pacifistic stance; moments when they found seemingly subversive ways to take a peaceful stand. Their writing becomes, therefore, not so much about their persecution at the hands of angry soldiers but about their witness of peace despite persecution, and the conversion of others because of that witness.

The diaries included in this edition are rich with examples of attempts at conversion and of stories about those who have been converted. For instance, Gaeddert mentions "A certain Quacker" who "laid down all work" after being a "military police for six months"; he is welcomed into the nonresistant fold when the police "started using guns" (186). And, for Gaeddert the "interesting Epoch making event" in his camp is this: "Rev. Mr. Krehbiel spoke in our mess room preaching the Doctrine of Non-Resistance to us boys in the presence of Colonel Kilborne, Captain Cole, Lieut. Jones, and other officers of rank" (166-67). Why would this be such a significant occasion? Most certainly because of the opportunity given Krehbiel and his Mennonite brethren to preach to "officers of rank" the message of nonresistance, to reveal to officers a Truth they have yet understood. In his diary, Meyer celebrates the appearance of a regular conscript in objector barracks; having stumbled unknowingly onto a Mennonite worship service, the soldier decides to stay and fellowship with the objectors, much to Meyer's apparent joy. Hostetler has a far more subversive method for spreading his nonresistant message; faced with an order to have all letters turned over to a censor before they can be mailed, Hostetler says that "I think we should write just such things that will do them [the censors] good" (211). Indeed, Hostetler's diary suggests he believes God has called him to camp to do conversion work for the kingdom. After being forced to attend the hanging of three African-American soldiers, Hostetler muses: "Wish I could impress everyone to take the stand today as we don't know what a day may bring forth" (213); and after a Sunday service with the brigade chaplain, Hostetler

writes: "God has a work here for me to do. behold the fields they are ready for harvest and the laborers are few. Fit we few, ready creatures to do thy bidding here and may we be able to carry thy message of love to a few hungry souls before it is too late" (214). If he must remain in the camp, if he must remain separated from his "dear Della," then surely God has another plan for him. In his mind, this is it, doing the conversion work necessary to show the soldiers God's peaceful kingdom.

Sayre contends that published autobiographies of Great War objectors rely on the archetype of the Roman soldiers and citizens, converted by early Christians (70). Most likely Mennonite objectors had another archetype in mind as well, that of the early Anabaptist martyr, persecuted yet professing Truth nonetheless, and through the witness of suffering love, converting others. Whether they were successful in their enactment of the martyr archetype remains unclear, especially since we don't have many, if any, statements from officers and soldiers detailing their turn towards peace. Certainly most in the military sustained their vision of violence's necessity in eradicating the German scourge, else American history from the Great War era would be much different than we now know it. At any rate, Homan reports there were some instances of reconciliation between Mennonite conscientious objectors and the military men who abused them; in one case, the objectors gave farewell gifts to a sergeant who "tearfully confessed he was ashamed for the mistreatment he had meted out" (122). A true conversion? In one sense, yes; the officer must have been transformed in his view of Mennonite objectors, must have seen more clearly the costs of his abuse and the conciliatory nature of the Mennonites' peace witness on this occasion. Perhaps this was all Mennonite conscientious objectors could wish for in their attempts at conversion, especially considering the patriotic fervor which blanketed military camps, especially considering the predominating ethos of each camp's residents.

It is easy to imagine, though, that Mennonite conscientious objectors could hope for more--that they could hope to somehow quell the blood-lust they saw in other soldiers. Like Hostetler, many no doubt felt they were in military camps to do God's bidding, to carry God's

message to the unconverted, to speak peace in the midst of war. The Bible, the center and foundation of Mennonite faith, provided support for this belief. Christ had, after all, called his believers to be peacemakers. As Christ's disciples, the Mennonites had been "sent forth" by God to be "sheep in the midst of wolves" (Matthew 10: 16), also a warning from Christ that the world would bear its fangs at Christians who espoused Christ's message of love, peace, and justice. Matthew's gospel gave Mennonite objectors the sanctifying image they needed in World War I; in the Mennonites' thinking, the carnal world of American patriots attempted to devour those who would not heed the demand to loyally support a holy war. For these Americans, the only hope was salvation: not a "trench salvation" proffered by most American ministers, but a salvation founded on conversion to God's peaceable kingdom.

In the June 5, 1919, issue of the *Gospel Herald*, the Mennonite missionary J.A. Ressler imagines what life in the United States will be like one hundred years after the Great War. What will be remembered from that horrible conflict? What will be forgotten? Ressler writes:

A hundred years from now the names of Joseph and Michael Hofer will in all probability be known and honored as martyrs of the cross--men who died a most cruel death rather than betray their faith in Jesus Christ . . . we cannot refrain from saying, The great ones of the land, by whose knowledge and consent, if not by whose positive orders, these deeds were done, may well take a lesson from the history of great ones of the past, whose names now are forgotten, or mentioned only in horror. (170)

Eighty years after the war, Ressler's vision seems far too idealistic. It is predicated on the hope of a peaceable America, and of Americans converted to a different view of war and warfare. However, few now know of the suffering and death of Joseph and Michael Hofer in a Kansas prison, nor the fate of other Mennonite men who believed strongly in nonresistance and were punished by Americans and their government for that belief. Unlike Ressler's future projection, history remembers the "great ones" like Leonard Wood and Newton Baker, who are not

mentioned "only in horror" but are part of the honor roll of American citizens who heeded President Wilson's call and made the world safe for democracy.

Certainly the life-stories and life-writing of obscure Mennonite objectors from the Great War--of Gustav Gaeddert, of Ura Hostetler, of Jacob C. Meyer, and of John Neufeld--cannot turn historiography on its head, cannot make Wood into a sinner and the Hofers into saints, cannot bear validity to Ressler's hopeful future. This does not undermine their significance as important historical voices detailing a troubled time in America's past. However, the men's lives provide no real testimony to the Mennonites' wartime trials if their diaries remain hidden in archive libraries, if their narratives remain untold. Only in reading the diaries may we clearly hear these suppressed voices in American history. And, only in being read can the diaries bear witness to the Mennonite experience during the Great War: to what the war meant for men drafted by their government, but who chose to serve Christ and conscience instead.

Editorial Method

Diaries present unique and specific challenges for a textual editor. The diary is by its very nature a private document intended for a limited audience, usually for an audience of one--presumably the writer. Unless he is confident of his enduring fame, the diarist does not propose to write for some future publication; he is thus under no obligation to make his writing comprehensible to anyone but himself. And so the diarist may utilize abbreviations, symbols, and self-manufactured forms of punctuation he readily recognizes just as he confounds his readers (should his diary ever be read). In this sense, the diary almost begs for standardization, for the editor to bear down with heavy black ink and revise punctuation, expand abbreviations, interpret symbols. How else, the editor may well reason, is the diary to be read, understood, appreciated?

Yet to read this edition's diaries as significant historical texts requires that they be reconstructed as closely as print allows to the original manuscripts, to how they were written in 1917-18 instead of conforming to the sensibilities of readers some eighty years later. For the most part, then, I have resisted the urge to standardize in this edition. Misspellings, grammatical gaffs, abbreviations, and inconsistencies in capitalization and punctuation have been retained in the edited texts. No attempt has been made to emend a writer's flaws, for in many cases these idiosyncrasies reveal themselves to be patterns in the writer's work, part of his unique voice, his own imprint. I invite this voice to emerge rather than silencing it under the guise of standardization.

The editorial methods explained here are used for all four of this volume's texts because the texts each conform to the diary's conventions, and they are each written by men with similar pasts and experiences in Great War military camps. Any divergent editorial methods would render the texts too confusing--or far too different from the original manuscript--to be appreciated. When a diary calls for some alteration of practices outlined below, I report such in

the “Text” section preceding each diary. With the following principles in mind, each diary reveals the writer’s singular voice, letting him speak his own unique view of history.

Canceled Passages

All the diaries have a fair amount of canceled passages. Because the writers did not edit their diaries in the years following the war, these cancellations occurred as the writers composed and form no part of each writer’s final intentions for his text. Any note of a canceled passage has been relegated to an end-of-text emendations list, keyed to page and line number. In the emendations list, cancellations are indicated with slanted brackets < >; the canceled material appears inside the brackets. When the cancellation is unreadable, this is noted as well, with the word “indecipherable” placed between the slanted brackets.

Interlineations

Each text includes some interlineations. As with cancellations, these interlineations are deemed part of the original composing process rather than revisions made by the writers in later years; they are considered authorial additions. Interlineations are printed as part of the text without indication that such was added material. Rather, any interlineations are reported in the end-of-text emendations list using a series of arrows ↑ ↓, with the interlineated material appear inside the arrows. Cases where the author placed material above canceled passages are noted both with slanted brackets indicating the canceled material and with arrows documenting the interlined addition.

Absent Material

In some cases, words, sentences, and in one instance an entire page is missing from this edition’s diaries. Where written material is missing from the original manuscript, or is obscured by imperfections on the page, such is indicated in the edited text with closed brackets and ellipses, as follows: [. . .]. An explanation in the textual notes indicates the nature of the

missing material: whether it was the result of ink splotches, a missing or torn page, or indecipherable handwriting.

Underlining

Throughout the texts, each diarist uses underlining, most often for emphasis. Any portion of the original manuscript underlined by the writer appears in italics, following standard procedure. Material double underlined remains unchanged in the text. Datelines for each entry prove the exception to this rule and are discussed below.

Capitalization

Capitalization remains inconsistent in all the diaries. Conscientious about capitalizing proper names and places, the diarists did not always follow standard rules of capitalization at beginnings of sentences. Silently emending capital letters is avoided. Mistakes in capitalization remain. In a few cases where it is impossible to decipher a capital letter from its lowercase counterpart, the letter has been capitalized in the text.

Punctuation

As with capitalization, the writers here are inconsistent in their punctuation, sometimes ending sentences with periods, sometimes with dashes, sometimes with no punctuation whatsoever. Yet because these inconsistencies remain an important part of each writer's character, and because they should be in no way distracting to the reader, they have not been emended, except in cases where the missing punctuation is part of a set and was probably omitted because of the writer's haste. In such instances, the editorial supply of missing punctuation is noted in the end-of-text apparatus. Dashes in the text are represented as they appear.

Spelling

No attempt has been made to correct spelling in each text, even when it is clear that the author knew the appropriate form of a word but misspelled out of haste or carelessness. In most every instance, spelling errors do not obscure the writer's intentions, nor will the reader find such mistakes distracting. Instead, misspellings may well offer insight into a writer's emotional state at the time and may alert readers to an author's unique writing style. If a diarist misspelled a proper name of a figure deemed significant, the correct spelling will be given in an explanatory note.

Abbreviations

Some diarists rely more heavily than others on abbreviations, although all at some point abbreviate. Many of the abbreviations are easily identifiable by the reader (for example, "C.O." means conscientious objector, except for the rare occasions when a writer mentions his commanding officers). Abbreviations have not been expanded in any text in order to reflect each writer's style. Explanatory notes are provided in cases where abbreviations may be difficult to decipher yet crucial to understanding the text.

Paragraphing

This edition attempts to retain each author's paragraphing practices, beginning a new paragraph when such is indicated in the diaries, even on occasions when one or two words constitute--for the writer--the need for a different, discrete paragraph. However, to ensure readability and to provide uniformity, indentations in each diary have been standardized.

Pagination

For the most part, the diarists did not paginate their own texts. To give readers a better sense of the pagination, the original page break is recorded within the texts by brackets, marking the beginning of each new page in the manuscript.

Datelines

All five diarists chose different methods for dating their diary entries: some include day, date, and year; some, date; some, day. Retaining this vast array of datelines might confuse the reader and interfere with the diary's readability. Therefore, datelines have been silently emended and standardized for uniformity and easier referencing. Each entry has been dated by month and day; the inclusion of the day of week and the year appears only in entries where the writer himself noted such in his diary. When a writer diverges so far from the typical pattern of dating entries to deserve recognition, these diversions are emended and then recorded in the end-of-text apparatus. This includes instances where the author underlined the date of his entry; in such cases, the underlining is not reported in the text itself (as in places where the underlining is indicated with italics), but on the emendations list.

Remark on Commentary

Explanatory notes in this edition, included in the Commentary section following each diary, are intended to amplify, expand, and enrich a reader's understanding of the text and its writer. The notes should not provide too much or too little information. Material for explanatory notes is gleaned from letters written by the diarists; from diaries and autobiographical sketches of others detained with the diarists; from taped interviews in the Showalter Oral History Collection; and from two books, James Juhnke's *Vision, Doctrine, War* and Gerlof Homan's *American Mennonites and the Great War, 1917-1918*.

Diarists included here often wrote about that which was important to them: the church family and community of which they were so vitally a part. Yet although these people certainly mattered to the writers, knowing their identities now, some eighty years later, would little enhance our understanding of the text or of the writers. Therefore, most of the names remain unidentified, except those who deserve especial recognition because of their unique relationship with the diarist or because they provide an important footnote to the writer's own story as narrated through the diary. In cases where names remain unidentified, the reader should assume--depending on the context---that the person is either family, a member of the writer's church community, or, most likely, a fellow conscientious objector or military officer.

Provenance

Two Midwestern libraries hold a majority of the archival material for American Mennonites and the Great War, including diaries, autobiographical sketches, and letters written by the war's Mennonite conscientious objectors. Established and supported by General Conference Mennonites, the Mennonite Library and Archives at Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas, houses an extensive collection of World War I artifacts, including 270 taped interviews of Great War objectors in the Showalter Oral History project. The Mennonite Library and Archives collection also includes the diaries of Gustav Gaeddert and John Neufeld, as well as the letters Gaeddert and Neufeld wrote to the Mennonite leader H.P. Krehbiel; these texts appear in a collection of Krehbiel's documents relating to his work in the First World War with the General Conference Mennonite Exemption Committee. The library has a copy of Ura Hostetler's diary as well; Thelma Kauffman of Harper, Kansas, owns Hostetler's original diary manuscript.

The Archives of the Mennonite Church at Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana, also contains a substantial amount of Great War material, thanks in large part to the work of historian Guy Hershberger. In the 1950s, Hershberger worked tirelessly to gather documents about the Mennonite experience during the First World War, and the Archives of the Mennonite Church includes documents from the Mennonite Church Military Problems Committee and from objectors. The Archives of the Mennonite Church holds Jacob C. Meyer's diary, along with his letters to Esther Steiner and the annotated diary he prepared for publication in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review*; these appear in the Jacob C. Meyer collection.

CHAPTER TWO
WHAT SERVICE TO RENDER:
GUSTAV GAEDDERT

The Good Samaritan's story is well known; it is an oft-repeated parable used in sermons and in Sunday School, Christ's lesson of unconditional love and compassion for all humanity. The narrative has become part of our common discourse, its protagonist emblazoned on corporate logos for hospitals and tourist companies. The original good Samaritan, residing in Luke's Gospel, saves from death a certain man slumped by the Jericho roadside, having been beaten and stripped by robbers. Left to rot in a ditch, the weakened man sees pass both a priest and a Levite, supposed leaders of God who ignore the man's wounds and his pleas for assistance. A Samaritan, considered the scourge of the Israeli people, discovers the man, binds his wounds, and delivers him to an inn, where he pays for the stricken man's care. "Which now of these three," Jesus's parable concludes, "was neighbour unto him who fell among the thieves?" (Luke 10:30-37).

Fifty years after the Great War ended, Gustav Gaeddert found this narrative of the Good Samaritan especially compelling. During the half century separating him from his First World War experiences as a conscientious objector, Gaeddert had discovered within Jesus's parable a truth he and other Mennonites had not clearly seen during their Great War trials. Or so he suggests in a 1967 taped interview. There, Gaeddert recalls the Good Samaritan parable, and notes that the Samaritan did not ask the bleeding man whether he was a believer or not, nor whether he embraced nonresistance; the Samaritan merely bound the man's wounds out of compassion and charity. Gaeddert argued that in the same way Jesus Christ never interrogated people about what kind of noncombatant or combatant service they did before healing them. "That question never arose," Gaeddert said. Why then did Mennonite men refuse to serve in the medical corps, refuse to help heal men's wounds, refuse to play the Good Samaritan to the soldiers strewn by the roadside merely because in so doing, they would be working under

military authority? If Mennonite objectors were to be as Christ, they should have sought to aid all people. Finally, Gaeddert reasoned, if his brother was to become a combat soldier and find himself mowed down by gunfire, Gaeddert could not very well plead conscientious objector status and refuse his brother any assistance; since all people were considered brothers and sisters in Christ they all, combatant soldiers or peaceful resisters, deserved aid. In 1967, as another war raged in Asia and the conscientious objector question again confronted the Mennonite Church, Gaeddert affirmed that in his mind Christ would believe "the idea is to help" no matter the ethos of those needing medical or economic relief; in so helping, Mennonites could much more readily influence others to make peace.

What service to render? After the span of fifty years, such a query still troubled Gaeddert, who believed in 1967 that Mennonites had probably reached, in 1917, the wrong conclusion to that sticky question. During the Great War, Gaeddert had followed the path of most resistance taken by many Mennonites, rendering virtually no military service as a conscientious objector at Camp Funston, Kansas. However much Gaeddert later regretted this decision to perform no substantial duties at his Kansas cantonment, his diary and letters written while detained as a Great War objector suggest the Mennonites' refusal to accept any noncombatant duty sat uncomfortably with Gaeddert even then. Gaeddert's diary, kept from September 1917 until the end of August, 1918, clearly reflects both the writer's struggle to decide how best to act while detained and the difficulties Mennonites had during the First World War in trying to reach conclusions about what constituted noncombatant duty; about how best to perfect their nonresistant witness; and about what kind of service the Mennonites could conscientiously render while sustaining Christ's precept to love one's enemies.

Among the first Mennonites conscripted, Gaeddert must have considered himself unlucky when, in mid-September 1917, he was called to report for duty. Celebrating his 22nd birthday shortly before his military induction, Gaeddert had just returned home from a trip to Reedley, California, where he and several friends had attended a Mennonite conference. Gaeddert was a primary school teacher at Hill Country School near Inman, Kansas, and his

school year was one week old when the conscription notice arrived. Commanded to report on September 19, Gaeddert had less than a day to bid farewell to his students and his family before traveling to McPherson's train depot, a short journey from Inman. His brother remembered well the evening before his departure, when relatives poured into the Gaeddert household; it was, Albert Gaeddert wrote 75 years later, a time of "great anxiety and mourning, almost like a funeral, for no one knew what would be the fate of those first C.O. draftees" (50). In McPherson, Gaeddert said good-bye to his parents and sister Marie, then boarded the train which cut a swath through the heart of Kansas and carried conscripts to Camp Funston, a massive cantonment located near Manhattan, west of Kansas City.

Two childhood companions, Paul Heidebrecht and David Goertz, joined Gaeddert on his journey to Camp Funston, all having been conscripted at the same time; the three friends remained together throughout their internment and their furlough to an Iowa state mental institution. Upon first arriving at Camp Funston, the men were barracked with regular combatant soldiers and received some verbal harassment from officers who were, according to Gaeddert, "a little rough." Called before a company colonel shortly after his arrival at camp, Gaeddert was forced to explain his reasons for objecting to military service, the first of many times he would do so. As nearly every other Mennonite objector after him would do, Gaeddert detailed the Mennonite Church's history and the biblical reasons for assuming a nonresistant stance. In his 1967 interview, Gaeddert relates the gist of this initial conversation with the military hierarchy. The colonel asked Gaeddert "if everyone took this position, what would happen?" Gaeddert's response, he later recalled, did not endear him to the colonel: "then there would be no war."

Soon Gaeddert and other conscientious objectors took work hauling garbage in Camp Funston's sanitation department. Often the men toiled alongside regular conscripts, who drove the garbage truck and mobilized the sanitation crews. With a population of a small city, Camp Funston produced enough garbage to keep those on sanitation detail busy; Gaeddert wrote to H.P. Krehbiel that the days were long, the job hard and dirty (21 November 1917). Although the men worked readily at first, conflict arose between objectors and military authorities when, one

month into their detainment, Gaeddert and others protested the demand to work on Sundays. When they did not report for duty on Sunday, October 14, 1917, the objectors were dragged to their captain's quarters and read the riot act. The men were ordered on to the garbage trucks, and all but eight followed the officers' demands. Those who refused to board the trucks were marched to a field outside of camp and beaten with rifles; they returned to the barracks with faces cut and bleeding. Gaeddert, having conceded to the officers, was not among the abused. The protest was not completely effective, and the men still had to work on Sundays. However, Gaeddert's detachment did achieve modest gains through their defiance and the resultant mistreatment: they were transferred to another barrack, and were out from under the rough hands of their former captain.

Gaeddert's diary attests to the long days spent hauling garbage that first fall in camp--and apparently, doing little else. By mid-November 1917, Gaeddert admitted in his diary that he "felt uneasy about the work" (152), especially as other Mennonite men had refused to haul garbage, arguing that sanitation detail abetted the military machine and was therefore against the Mennonite moral imperative to remain nonresistant Christians. Around the same time, Gaeddert wrote in a letter to the General Conference Mennonite leader Krehbiel that "the work in itself is harmless, really, and truly constructive, and is work that must be done; but the system or the Establishment under, or to which it belongs, is destructive" (21 November 1917). Unsure now whether he should himself continue hauling garbage, Gaeddert wondered if Krehbiel and the Exemption Committee of which Krehbiel was a part could provide clear guidance. No matter the punishment he might receive if he stopped working, no matter if he was confined to the idleness of a detention barrack, Gaeddert wanted to do the right thing; he wanted to be told by his Mennonite leaders what service he could conscientiously render.

He persisted in performing sanitation duty until the beginning of 1918, when he was stricken with the mumps and then with Diphtheria, and so spent a good deal of January convalescing in the base hospital. While ill, Gaeddert was informed by fellow conscientious objectors who visited him that the Mennonites in his detachment had decided to refuse all

military jobs, including sanitation detail. If Gaeddert wanted to remain in solidarity with his brethren, he was informed, he would need to put his garbage hauling days behind him. In 1967 Gaeddert said this about the Mennonites' decision to lay down all work:

I was not too enthusiastic for we really couldn't object to it conscientiously because no matter what we were doing we would be helping the cause somehow anyway, but, when I came to the barracks then [after being in the hospital] I was told that when one breaks away from the group, why, then they'll try all the harder to carry that on. So we agreed to stay together.

It is difficult to ascertain, of course, whether Gaeddert could say this only after fifty years' time, or whether he sincerely felt in 1918 that Mennonite men should continue to render some forms of service in military camps--at least until President Woodrow Wilson defined what being a noncombatant might mean for objectors. However, a letter to Krehbiel dated January 15, 1918, provides one clue to Gaeddert's feelings at the time. He writes "We shall resist the evil. Now than finally the question is, is our work evil. I could not say that it is. There we are." In his diary, too, Gaeddert suggests he felt unsettled about the Mennonites' decision. On a trip home February 5, 1918, Gaeddert talked with J.W. Kliewer, his former instructor at Bethel College; with his father; and with his brother-in-law about "whether it would be best to lay down everything" (160). In his diary, he only admits his auditors are also unsure whether quitting would be the best option. If Gaeddert presented to H.P. Krehbiel his thoughts on the subject aright, and if his diary represents his sincere feelings at the time, we may assume he was indeed none too enthusiastic when told that to sustain a united front, he needed to forever let go the military garbage can and render no more service.

The belief that some forms of work done within military camps might be acceptable well reflected the ethos of General Conference Mennonites, of which Gaeddert was one; as a whole, General Conference Mennonites applied a more liberal reading of their nonresistant beliefs to World War I objector concerns. In some ways, then, Gaeddert's was an opinion fostered by his own upbringing and education, for Gaeddert hailed from a rich tradition of progressive General

Conference Mennonitism. His grandfather, Diedriech Gaeddert, had led settlers to central Kansas in 1874 as part of the massive Mennonite tide flowing from Russia. Members of Diedriech Gaeddert's group established in good time the Hoffnungsfeld Church, a vital General Conference congregation, and in 1907, the Hoffnungsau Bible School. Gustav Gaeddert's father, Jacob, although immigrating from Russia at age fourteen, assimilated quickly once in America: by the Great War, he had learned passable English, was subscribing to English newspapers, and voted in American elections (interview). Jacob and his wife, Katharina, seemingly also encouraged their children (eight sons and four daughters, two who died before age ten) to attend school beyond what was then common for Mennonites. Gaeddert graduated from Hoffnungsau preparatory school and Bethel Academy before being conscripted and would, after the war, earn a Ph.D. in history from the University of Kansas. Thus with a high school degree in hand by 1917, Gaeddert had more education than most other Mennonite conscientious objectors; further, as a primary school teacher, he did not share the same occupational interests as many other Mennonite objectors, although he continued to help on his father's farm before and after conscription. Such vocational and educational differences may to some extent have separated Gaeddert from other less-schooled agrarian objectors. Nonetheless, it was probably Gaeddert's General Conference Mennonite heritage rather than his "advanced" education which guided his Great War thinking about what kind of service Mennonite men could, and should, perform while detained.

Although other Mennonites accepted noncombatant work and so broke from the ranks of absolutist objectors, Gaeddert opted for solidarity--a choice he seemingly regretted in the years following the war. And so, after his release from the base hospital in late January 1918, Gaeddert returned to the conscientious objector barracks and to a relatively idle life. During his detainment in the early months of 1918, Gaeddert helped clean at the Y.M.C.A. on some occasions and worked in the detachment mess hall, but performed no other in-camp duties. Rather, every day he participated with his fellow objectors in devotionals, hymn sings, and evening programs; one of the many "good tenors" in his crowd, he joined a quartet and

performed for his brethren (interview). As with other objectors, Gaeddert took hikes and played baseball, wrote home and read. Gaeddert was apparently an inveterate letter writer, judging by the heft of his correspondence with Krehbiel. His diary suggests other family and friends, most notably John Thiessen and Sara Lohrentz, were likewise the beneficiaries of his prolific letter writing habit. Because Camp Funston was within relatively accessible traveling distance from home, Gaeddert took advantage of 24 hour passes when possible and visited his family and church community; in his diary, Gaeddert often wrote more about his journeys home than about his time in camp, so valuable were those visits to him. But, without the daily rigors of sanitation detail while in camp, Gaeddert was left with hours upon hours to contemplate home, which "never before . . . meant so much to us boys" as during that time of idle loneliness (letter to Krehbiel, 25 March 1918).

In late March, 1918, Gaeddert's conscientious objector detachment was moved into tents at a detention camp located one mile from Camp Funston on the Kaw River's banks. The scenery there was "beautiful," Gaeddert wrote Krehbiel, as their camp was surrounded by the river, "steep mountains" (more likely large hills, given the Kansas terrain), and the slowly emerging "green grass which God calls forth to grow even in a military camp." Still, Gaeddert argued, it was "tragic to think of, that an attractive, beautiful, valley should be dedicated and used as a place to fill the mind with a hatred and developing in him an aim which is destructive" (25 March 1918). No matter how pastoral the setting, Gaeddert and others were preoccupied with President Wilson's March 1918 ruling defining noncombatant services, and that ruling's failure to alleviate the objectors' plights, to turn back their idleness, to provide them useful roles outside the military. After being read Wilson's executive order in late March, and after declining to accept medical, quartermaster, or engineering corps duty, Gaeddert wrote that only the "future will decide as to the hardships connected" with his decision, "besides those already received" (166). For the time being, Gaeddert would remain by the Kaw River, still wondering and worrying about his fate.

By April 1918, rumors about the possibility of furloughs for objectors started circulating through Gaeddert's camp. Seeing the furlough bill as "a wise and clear cut law," Gaeddert wrote home and asked his father to help him obtain one (167). Gaeddert also wrote to Krehbiel hoping to verify the rumor's accuracy but, before Krehbiel could respond, Gaeddert sent another letter explaining that "the Furlough Law doesn't seem to apply to us" (April 1918); this information he likewise recorded in his diary on April 25. Only later, when Secretary of War Newton Baker declared objectors eligible for furloughs, did Gaeddert begin the application process for doing reconstruction work. On June 18, 1918, Gaeddert wrote to the American Friends Service Committee in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, declaring his intentions to join that group and asking for an application. One day later, Gaeddert wrote to Krehbiel that he hoped to join the Friends in their ministry because

I think it offers a great opportunity for service, and besides, the kind of service which interests me; further, it offers at the same time chance for development and experience in this kind of service; also I think that than my sacrifice if carried out will come up, rather, almost measure up to the sacrifice of the average soldier, and also will the work be more appreciated probably, because of the indifferent feeling or spirit that seems to prevail here. (19 June 1918)

Relief work in France was not to be for Gaeddert, no matter how much he wanted to provide such assistance. Fifty years after the war, Gaeddert still did not know why he had been refused the opportunity to do reconstruction in France, especially since he was as well-educated, and as physically fit, as some who worked with the Friends overseas; he hypothesized that, perhaps, his application had been lost in the mail. However, military records reveal that the Board of Inquiry did not even recommend Gaeddert for reconstruction work, and instead classified him as worthy a farm furlough stateside.

In early July, 1918, Gaeddert joined his objector brethren in a forced sojourn to Camp Dodge, Iowa. There, conscientious objectors met with the Board of Inquiry. Gaeddert had his

hearing before the Board on Independence Day, and maneuvered the examination with ease; later, he recalled the examiners were "three very fine men" (interview). The Board of Inquiry classified Gaeddert as 1-A, finding him a sincere religious objector and recommending him for a farm furlough. Still, he remained at Camp Dodge for over a month more, suffering the vagaries of an Iowan summer in a dusty, windy, and oppressively hot detainment camp. Just as he had done at Camp Funston, Gaeddert hiked and exercised, worshipped and sang in a quartet, read his Bible and listened to the impassioned reasoning of military officers and civilians hoping to convert him. Especially at Camp Dodge, Gaeddert remembered, "they would bring ministers from various congregations and try to influence us but of course they wouldn't affect us" (interview). His diary writing habit, however, suffered while at Camp Dodge. After July 8, 1918, Gaeddert ceased making regular entries in his diary, inscribing only two entries between that time and his furlough: one covering July 8 through August 27, and one detailing the day of his furlough, August 28.

When his furlough was finally granted, Gaeddert traveled with several other objectors to Independence, Iowa, to work at the state hospital there. The hospital covered an expanse of 1300 acres and housed 1300 inmates, Gaeddert wrote in a letter to Krehbiel; the grounds included a 700 acre farm, meadows and pastures, a beautifully landscaped lawn, and a compound of well-maintained brick buildings (31 August 1918). After a year idled away in cramped and dull military cantonments, Gaeddert and his companions "enjoy [ed] very much" their life in Independence: they received good meals, including "real butter and milk" from the 175 Holsteins milked by the hospital's patients; their supervisor was kind and understood their "condition"; they had plenty of work threshing crops, filling silos, tending to animals, and cultivating the gardens. Finally, Gaeddert was proving himself useful, rendering service that would help others, being a Good Samaritan of a kind. "It seems to me this is a very fine place," Gaeddert told Krehbiel, "and very appropriate work."

Gaeddert's furlough was to last until November 15, 1918. On that day the state hospital's superintendent phoned the judge advocate at Camp Dodge and requested a six month extension

for his furloughed workers; this extension was granted, although the superintendent told Gaeddert and other objectors they were free to leave the hospital once the government released them. As of November 17, 1919, Gaeddert still did not know when that date would be. In a letter to Krehbiel, Gaeddert expressed thanksgiving that the war was over, acknowledged that "the intense feelings of joy and laughter are again penetrating the air," and noted that November 11 would be the "second Fourth of July" to celebrate yearly. Still, he wondered about his fate, about whether objectors would be discharged with soldiers or would be the last released, as rumors then suggested. To Krehbiel he wrote:

We however are not urging any special favor from the Government in this respect of discharging us, for the greatest favor have we already enjoyed because of not having been forced to violate the dictates of our conscience, yet is it a very natural desire to be together with our dear 'home folks,' Father and Mother brothers and sisters and if possible spend a Christmas or thanksgiving together with them. (17 November 1918)

Gaeddert was granted his wish, but not soon enough for the holidays. According to the orders established by Secretary of War Newton Baker, Gaeddert returned to Camp Dodge with other objectors, received his discharge in early 1919, and journeyed home to Inman, Kansas, ending a sixteen month ordeal.

Following the war's end Gaeddert attended again to his education, and in 1921 earned a bachelor's degree from Bethel College in North Newton, Kansas. That same year in Moundridge, Kansas, he married Sara Lohrentz, a friend from school who had, during the Great War, taken over Gaeddert's teaching duties at the Hill Country School. The couple settled in Kansas amidst family and church community, but had no children during their fifty year union. In 1926, Gaeddert earned a master's degree in History from the University of Kansas, then taught history and government for seven years at Bethel College. Following his release from Bethel, Gaeddert returned to the University of Kansas, earning his Ph.D. in History there in 1937; at the same time, he served as a curator at the Kansas State Historical Library in Topeka.

Gaeddert was too old to need worry about conscription nor about noncombatant service when World War Two threatened. Nonetheless, while another war pulverized Europe, both Gaeddert and his wife chose to volunteer for the Red Cross, and were sent by that organization to Fort Sill, Oklahoma. Perhaps the spectre of Great War inaction haunted him, and he wanted to provide the assistance he had not when an objector; perhaps he had realized, by that time, what the Good Samaritan parable meant to him. At any rate, Gaeddert believed he provided a useful, Christ-like witness by helping during the Second World War, even though he worked with combatant soldiers and under the authority of the Red Cross--an institution suspected by Great War Mennonites as being pro-military. Said Gaeddert in 1967:

When I was in Fort Sill I worked with the soldiers with their family problems and with their personal problems and whether that strengthened them in their determination to fight or not, that never entered my mind. What I did was try to help them . . . I believe there are a lot of angles that could be helped that way. They [the soldiers] could be helped a lot of different ways.

Both his experiences as an objector in the First World War and as a Red Cross volunteer in the Second compelled Gaeddert to believe that in any American conflict, Mennonites should assume a more pro-active witness, helping soldiers if necessary, doing relief work when possible. Otherwise, he said, the Church may become "too narrow" in its assertion that nonresistant Christians should have no part of the military, that by toiling in military hospitals Mennonites are supporting the war. Mennonites can work in war relief and can bind soldiers' wounds while holding fast to their nonresistant convictions if they can separate, in their own minds, the endeavor from the institution; such, Gaeddert implied, is what Christ would have Mennonites, his followers, do.

Some fifty years earlier, Krehbiel had voiced a similar belief in a letter to the young objector Gaeddert, concerned about what military service he could conscientiously render. Krehbiel wrote work "in the military camp would be quite possible without doing violence to

conscience. Only it must be understood to be no part of the military establishment" (12 January 1918). He challenged Gaeddert and other objectors to "shine as lights" in a "crooked and perverse nation," as Paul had said in Philippians 2:15, and implied that this was possible even if the objectors accepted some noncombatant chores. At Gaeddert's military cantonment, however, other Mennonites had already decided they could not "shine as lights" by enacting any form of military duty; Gaeddert, in turn, followed the urging of his fellow brethren. Nonetheless, Gaeddert's thinking on the issue of what service to render clearly resonated with Krehbiel's, reflective not only in his actions and words following the war, but in his Great War writing as well. In both deed and word after the war's conclusion, Gaeddert suggests some dissatisfaction with the ways he resolved this tension: by rendering no military service, by ignoring his stricken brothers, by being the Levite or the priest rather than the Good Samaritan. One could almost argue Gaeddert attempted to rectify what he saw as his Great War inaction by being a Red Cross volunteer during the Second World War, and even more by working for the Mennonite Central Committee following that conflict; both Gaeddert and his wife also spent several years doing volunteer relief work for that organization, in the Near East first, then with Russian refugees in Germany.

Gaeddert's diary provides testament to the tension he felt during the Great War, a tension pulled taut between doing some military service and doing nothing, between autonomy and solidarity, between a singular and a corporate conscience. At times, the entries in Gaeddert's diary are maddeningly spartan, providing few details of his days beyond what becomes his characteristic refrain: "Hauled Garbage." The oft-times sparse nature of his entries yet proves a significant reflection of life at Camp Funston where, at least for the first five months of his detainment, Gaeddert's days revolved around sanitation detail, a monotony broken only by all-important letters and visits from home. Gaeddert's diary entries also show his increasing discomfort with doing sanitation work, then the momentous decision to cease working, then the boredom precipitated by having nothing to do--not even the garbage hauling which in itself had been stultifyingly tedious. This pattern replicates clearly the idle life Gaeddert experienced in

camp, punctuated by moments of indecision and by provocation from military authorities, colored always by the "thots" of home community, school, and family.

In many ways, Gaeddert adheres closely to the conventions of diary writing and to the "unrhetorical Mennonite rhetorical style" outlined by Al Reimer in *Mennonite Literary Voices*. Still, readers might sense in places that the young Gaeddert wishes to move beyond the bare language of his literary and denominational forebears; he seems at times to toy with his own prose style, as with the sudden appearance of the refrain "Ha Ha!" in both his diary and letters--and its disappearance just as quickly. For the most part, though, Gaeddert relies on an unadorned rendering of experience as he attempts to sustain (and sometimes fails to sustain) the objective reporter's voice of a fledgling historian. Gaeddert's diary becomes at times a commonplace book as well, for he copies into it letters he has written, a military notice he read, even a puzzlingly racist piece from the camp newspaper, the *Trench and Camp*--puzzling, at least, because we must wonder why Gaeddert felt compelled to duplicate it without commentary. At any rate, Gaeddert must certainly have been familiar with a diary's conventions. His own text suggests he clearly wished to make an accounting of each day, even if that accounting meant inscribing the date and nothing else, or the date and the briefest phrase, "Hauling Garbage," which said so much to Gaeddert about his experience, and so much to us now.

Only Gaeddert knows why he failed to maintain this daily record after July 8, 1918. Nonetheless, it seems clear he wanted the narrative he told about his World War I experiences to have a distinct beginning and ending; his first and last entries correspond with his induction into the military and his "first nite of Freedom" during his furlough. Yet although Gaeddert opens his diary with the September 9, 1917, entry, he in actuality did not receive his "diary book" until early October. On October 1, 1917, he sent a postcard to Krehbiel requesting "a day book or Diary book a good book worth having" for himself and several of his brethren. Krehbiel noted on Gaeddert's postcard that he had written back to Gaeddert on October 4--and apparently sent the diary at this time. Once Gaeddert received the diary, he felt compelled to recall the previous month's momentous events in writing: his conscription, his "tragic farewell" at the McPherson

train depot, and his first weeks in camp. The diary's beginning is therefore as its end: Gaeddert endeavors to provide the complete narrative of his military camp experience by covering several days' entries at a time, thus telling his whole conscientious objector story from the first day until the last.

In 1962, Gaeddert donated his Great War diary to the Mennonite Library and Archives in North Newton, Kansas, where it joins a sizable collection of World War I material. He died ten years later. His diary, his 1967 interview, and his letters to Krehbiel yet remain as artifacts which clearly trace the Great War journey Gaeddert made as a young General Conference Mennonite. They show a man attempting to discern what a nonresistant witness might look like; what Christ would have Mennonites do in military camps; what service he could conscientiously render. During the Great War, Gaeddert followed his brethren, who themselves embraced the Gospel's teachings about resisting not evil and loving one's enemies, and asserted that those teachings dictated absolute objection to working under military authority. Fifty years later, Gaeddert believed Mennonites, in sincerely trying to embody a nonresistant witness, had missed part of the New Testament: the story of the Good Samaritan, who saw and saved his supposed enemy laid waste by a Jericho roadside.

The Diary of Gustav Gaeddert

Diary Book purchased from H.P. Krehbiel Newton Ks. in yr. 1917. Oct. 3rd while residing at Camp Funston.

[1917]

Sept. 9. arrived in Inman at 1 o'clock P.M. from California trip. Received many greetings.

Sept. 10. Started my school. Enjoyed first days work.

Sept. 16. Attended D.C. Regiers wedding. Met many College friends.

Sept. 18. Received notice to come to Camp Funston. Had a farewell party at Lakeshore in evening.

Sept. 19. Taught school till noon. Said good-by to my pupils (a sad parting.) Then went to Hutchinson on school business came home at 5 P.M. Friends cousins and pupils came to say good-by to me. With tears in our eyes we parted.

Sept. 20. Rose up early in the morning. Said once more good-by to brothers and sisters. Then went to McPherson where we then departed at 1 o'clock in the afternoon. Oh what a tragic farewell I had to endure when we left. [2] Mamma and Marie especially took it hard. Arrived at camp about 6 o'clock. Reported at Captain, handed our exemption papers to Captain. At eleven o'clock I went to take a bath. Went to bed at 1 o'clock. A.M.

Sept. 21. Came before Colonel. He asked us few puzzeling questions then sent us out and said he could not talk to us and told me I belonged to Supply Co made me feel worse.

Sept. 22 till Oct 11. had a fair time even though lonesome.

Oct. 14. Had a trial because of refusing to work on Sunday. Some boys were beat down by fist by the guard. I was left free at 8.45 A.M.

Oct. 15. Received our vaccination and inoculation of 5000 germs. The side is getting sore. Had a headache during the day.

Oct. 16. Was transfered from 9th Co 164 Depot Brig. to Dept. of Sanitation Bldg. 527.

Oct. 17. Hauled Garbage, was thru at 4.50 P.M. Than had a talk with H.P. Krebhiel, P.H. Unruh and P.H. Richert who explained to us more [3] in detail the conditions and our attitude towards them.

Oct. 18. Hauled Garbage. a long day.

Oct. 19. Hauled garbage, Friday. was a cold day. Got stuck with the truck.

Oct. 20. Sat. Hauled garbage. Enjoyed the time with Dave Goertz. Talked thru some practical problems.

Oct 21. Sunday. Hauled garbage till 10.30 oclock A.M. washed and then was surprised to meet my brother , H.T. Unruh, Otto Lôwen, Burkhart, W. Voth. in the Latrine. Enjoyed the time very much. Received greetings from friends at home and at College. The boys left at 2 c'clock. Met many other friends from Home. Rev. A. Dyck, John P. Franz etc. I am thinking of home friends and folks whom I love so dearly and yet I may not be with them. H.T. Unruh had the misfortune of stepping into the ditch into the mud when he stepped off from the Automobile here in Camp Funston Ks.

Oct. 22. Hauled garbage. cold rainy day. many thots.

Oct. 23. Hauled garbage. Said good-by to Merle Vilven our truck driver who left [4] for Camp in Texas. At the farewell, his mood changed from a careless and indifferent attitude to a warm and true boy. His farewell words were: Be good boys and we shook hands with him and he further said, I hope this war will be over in 3 Mo. In the evening we sincerely waited for a pass to go home but had to go to bed dissatisfied. We were discouraged.

Oct. 24. Got up at 5.45 A.M. Ate breakfast then waited till 8 AM when we received our pass to go home. 24 hrs pass. We left to Junction city on interurban, took a hired Oakland six and were taken to McPherson for \$26.70, left Junction at 9.30 arrived at McPherson 1.00 P.M. shaved and were taken home by Mr. Toews. 2.15 P.M. Reached conference at 3 oclock was at home greeted by sis. Annie & Earl. taken to church by John & John Franz. Greeted there by father mother sis. & bro. & friends & relatives. Had a committee meeting. After that met many

friends. Went home and had a good hearty homemade supper. In evening went to church, went home at 10 and had fine talks till 1.30 A.M. when we left for Camp again. [5]

Oct. 25. Thurs. Reached camp about 8.15 A.M. learned of situation here. Tried to straighten matters up a little and presented best wishes and greetings to boys from confer. & also the work done for us was presented. Have no work to do will write & ans. letters.

Oct. 26. Friday. Had a day of rest, which resulted into a day of letterwriting and reading. Read the book "Should a Christian fight?" by Samuel H. Booth-Chibborn.

Oct. 27. Hauled Garbage again.

Oct. 28. Hauled Garbage. Sent Message or telegram to H.P. Krehbiel to come to camp.

Oct. 29. Met Krehbiel and Kliewer was off in afternoon. Wanted to meet Krehbiel & Kliewer at Y.M.C.A. but failed on account of lack of patience in waiting. My mistake.

Oct. 30. Hauled Garbage. Quackers stopped working. A day of arrousement.

Oct. 31. Hauled garbage. Restless day.

Nov. 1. Hauled garbage. Some more information was gathered from us in regard to what church we belong to.

Nov. 2. Hauled garbage. The 3 cent letter tax went in force another war tax. [6]

Nov. 3. Sat. Hauled garbage.

Nov. 4. Sunday. Had a big crowd here. An interesting Epoch making event happened here today. Rev. Mr. Krehbiel spoke in our mess room preaching the Doctrine of Non-Resistance to us boys in the presence of Colonel Kilborne, Captain Cole, Liut Jones and other officers of rank. The privilidge was granted that services may be held in the mess room by Rev. Mr. Krehbiel and thru his permission or letter of introduction others may speak. The Heid famili from Okla were here visiting. It all together made me feel tired.

Nov. 5. Mond. Hauled Garbage. Paul was on guard duty i.e. fire guard. Was a windy day. Still having many thots concerning our work. Had a little talk with our truck driver.

Nov. 6. Hauled garbage.

Nov. 7. Hauled garbage. Received a letter from Prof. H.D. Penner and from home felt better. Had an election of chairman of Religious meetings. I was elected. [7]

Nov. 8. Thurs. Hauled garbage.

Nov. 9. Fri. Hauled garbage.

Nov. 10. Sat. Hauled garbage. Had quite a talk with driver Bauer.

Nov. 11. Sunday. John Thiessen visited me. Had a fine time with him. Also saw Katie Krause & Miss Clark took a walk with Miss. Clark Sat. nite. Received a kind letter from Hans. & Dickie.

Nov. 12. Hauled garbage. long day

Nov. 13. Tues. Saluting exercise and had to run double time. Hated that.

Nov. 14. Wed. Hauled garbage. Paul was sick. Had Schmidt instead.

Nov. 15. Thurs. Hauled garbage till Noon. Was off in the afternoon because Mamma, Marie, John, Jacob, and H.T. were here, had a very good afternoon. Talked about some practical life problems.

Nov. 16. Hauled garbage. Was asked once more to sign the payroll but refused to sign it. In evening our beds were moved and I was separated from Paul. [8]

Nov. 17. Hauled Garbage.

Nov. 18. Sund. Hauled garbage till 10.30 Last time or day with Bauer glad of it.

Nov. 19. Mond. Hauled garbage.

Nov. 20. Tues. Hauled garbage. Oyer told me he was going to quit working next day
Nov 21.

Nov. 21. Wed. Hauled garbage. Long day with many thots. Oyer quit.

Nov. 22. Thurs. Hauled garbage. Deep thots and felt uneasy about the work

Nov. 23. Fri. Had to carry out our beds. New order. Waiting on truck. Still feeling uneasy about the kind of work we are doing. Good news creeping in slowly don't know whether or not to believe them. Received a pusseling letter from Hans.

Nov. 24. Sat. Hauled garbage. Chilly day. Decided in evening suddenly to go home got a pass and left at 5.39 P.M. had a dreary night's rest.

Nov. 25. Reached Inman at 7.45 A.M. was tired. Ate breakfast at George Froezes. John got me and went home surprized [9] folks. Later went to church surprized them. Had a splendid time. Told H.T's that I had decided to enter upon mission work. They were *very very* glad to hear that. Asked H.T. another important question concerning my plan or that he decide in my favor i.e. the way I thot about it. In evening went along with H.T's, to Christian Endeavor, had another nice talk with them. At Endeavor I learned the opinion of many regards their attitude they take in respect to this war and towards us.

Nov. 26. Monday. Expressed my feeling, at the table, to home folks and friends surrounding and in the afternoon I & Mary visited my former school, Now Miss Lohrentze's school found it satisfactory especially did I appreciate her treatment of the youngsters. Order could have been a little better. Had a fine time. Was asked to say few words to pupils which I did. Car would not start had fun about it. Told Hans about our life here in camp. Stopped in at Grandma's alittle. In evening I was at my siss. Many questions were asked yet. Had a short seperate talk with Marie told her about my future intentions. [10] She told me how hard it was for her to see me go because we had always, and now again, had such intimate talks together and now she was alone. Left at 9.30 P.M. arrived here in camp at 7.45 A.M.

Nov. 27. Tues. Had to wash floor in forenoon was free in afternoon. Wrote letter to father and sent Thanksgiving cards to Hans & pupils.

Nov. 28. Wed. Hauled garbage. Received another letter from H.D. Penner. Nothing new has happened. thot of home & school.

Nov. 29. Hauled Garbage till 9.20 A.M. Had a fine Thanks giving dinner.

Nov. 30. Friday. Hauled garbage till 3 oclock P.M. Than had visitors: Miss Minnie Boese & Adolph and Miss Ruth Clark & Mrs. Clark. Had a fine time. Ate Supper together with them in Y.W.C.A. Received a box of candy from Minnie Boese.

Dec. 1. Sat. Hauled garbage. Inspection at 12.45 P.M.

Dec. 2. Sunday. Made up my mind to go home Sat. night and asked for pass of our new [11] Lieut Ray which he granted me. (not true) Heard nice sermon of P.H. Unruh and Missionary from China. Inspired me fully.

Dec. 3. Mond. Hauled Garbage.

Dec. 4. Tues. Hauled Garbage.

Dec. 5. Wed. Hauled Garbage.

Dec. 6. Thurs. Hauled Garbage.

Dec. 7. Frid. Hauled Garbage.

Dec. 8. Sat. Hauled Garbage. Paul went home on 48 hr. pass.

Dec. 9. Sund. Hauled Garbage till 9 o'clock. Helped Oyer in after noon and finished afternoon with letter writing. Evening listened to Rev. Christ. (*Cold day*)

Dec. 10. Hauled Garbage. Cold day & snow.

Dec. 11. Hauled Garbage. Paul returned & brought butter, & sweater, & caps, and money from home. Busy with renewing the claim's on Exemption.

Dec. 12. Wed. Hauled Garbage. Had bad headache in afternoon. Evening filed my affidavits. Snowe. Am tired and want to go to bed. Oyer received his discharge. [12]

Dec. 13. Thurs. Hauled garbage Cold day. Oyer left for home. Keenly felt his nearness and dearness to me. Went with him to the Depot and saw his happy face leave.

Dec. 14. Read in paper that no passes will be granted for Xmas. Was very much disappointed. Hauled Garbage. At noon I was called into the orderly room and was informed that my application for Xmas pass would be granted. Made me feel good but also felt for the others who may not go home. Some boys very much envy me —.

Dec. 15. Sat. Hauled garbage. were thru early.

Dec. 16. Sunday. Hauled garbage. Waited for trucks till 9.35. Bulletin posted a statement that no Religious meetings or gatherings of any kind are permitted in the barrack or camp. This did away with the Sunday Sermon and also with the Evening Bible class. Was a weary and lonely Sunday. Read on Bulletin that could not take train going home. [13]

Dec. 17. Monday. Hauled Garbage. Received a welcome & kind letter from Hans.

Dec. 18. Hauled garbage. Had instructions in regard to saluting. was fine. Nice day longing to go home.

Dec. 19. Hauled garbage. Beautiful day. Received notice that only 5% can go home Xmas. Bad and discouraging news. Thinking often of home and friends.

Dec. 20. Thurs. Waited for trucks. Waiting in suspense for the decision who will go home.

Dec. 21. Fri. Hauled garbage. Received notice that my pass was cancelled. Wired or sent Telegram home that I couldnt come home. Was a long day.

Dec. 22. Suderman left on Xmas pass. Hauled garbage.

Dec. 23. Sunday. Hauled garbage till 10 oclock. Dr. Kurtz gave a sermon in Mess Hall. Helped Carl Schmidt to get a pass for funeral of his Sis. Went to Junction and found Lieut Ray then to Funston and saw [14] Capt. Tooley and finally Schmidt received a 5 day pass.

Dec. 24. Mond. Hauled garbage were inspected for Tuberculosis.

Dec. 25. Tues. Xmas. Hauled garbage till 10 oclock A.M.

Dec. 26. Hauled garbage. Sec. Holliday. My sis. Marie was here Dec. 25. Had a fine time. Lizzie & Gus. Heid were here also. Was worried a little about Marie for when she left on Interurban she and Lizzie Heid went on car while Gus stayed behind. Have not heard whether she arrived home safe.

Dec. 27. Received card from Hans telling me she received card for pupils just in time. Hauled garbage. Came in to early. Suderman came back. feels good. Waiting in suspense to receive pass for New Year.

Dec. 28. Friday: Hauled garbage. Notice posted which says that New Years passes will start Mond. 31.4.30 p.m. and be due Jan 2. 7.40 A.M.

Another discouragement. [15]

Dec. 29. 1917. Sat. Hauled garbage.

Dec. 30. Sunday. Truck was filled with wood had to unload it first and after that hauled garbage. Kinda got my goat. Answered Han's letter.

Dec. 31. Mond. Hauled garbage till noon. Will go home in afternoon. Waiting on folks.

[1918]

Jan 1. 1918. Tues. Spent New Year at home. arrived home Dec. 31 at 10:30 P.M. Many visitors. Some of my pupils, i.e. Lynda, Herbert, & John Buller, Cornelius & Frank Adrian. My aunts & uncles, H.T's and Froezes. Had a fine time. Left home at 12 oclock P.M. Jacob, John and H.T. brought me to Salina arrived here at 8 oclock Jan 2nd. Talked about many a practical problem and one of these the mateing problem. Talked about many a question relating to the Salvation and Life after Death.

Jan. 2. 1918. Slept in forenoon Hauled garbage in afternoon. Asked to attend Lecture on Venereal Disease in Auditorium. Lecture was illustrative & sure interesting. [16]

Jan. 3. Thurs. Hauled garbage. Kurtz, Haskens, and other boys were sent to isolation camp.

Answered letters.

Jan. 4. Friday. Hauled garbage. Was off after 3 P.M. Had a fine driver Eckhardt. Nothing new.

Jan. 5. 1918. Sat. Hauled garbage and a load of trash. Lots of dust. Ebert received a discharge. Received a Christmas present from Bartels girls my pupils. Was on guard duty from 3.30 A.M. till 5.30 A.M.

Jan. 6. Sunday. Worked till 9.30 A.M. Had services in the afternoon.

Jan. 7. Monday. Same work, no change, no sign of Peace. Had a long days work.

Jan. 8. Tues. Hauled garbage. Had my first Thyphoid inoculation and also small pox vaccination. Resulted in headache and sore arm and side.

Jan. 9. Wed. Had to work inspite of sore arm and side. Had lots of fun. [17] Was discouraged because I didn't receive any mail. Read President Wilsons Peace terms and seem reasonable. Hopes for future to bring Peace soon.

Jan. 10. Thurs.

Jan. 11. Friday. Hauled one load of garbage to the incinerator than the truck gave out and had to be pulled in. Didn't work at all in afternoon. Had a fine talk with Boys.

Jan. 12. Delivered cans from yesterday. Was very very cold. A serious act was committed last night between 9-10 oclock. A supposed capt of 354 inf. is supposed to have killed 5 men, shot one and cut four with knife or hatchet and robbed bank in camp. A note has been found in orderly room of Capt. stating that before he would end his life he would do something real mean. We were searched 3 times in afternoon and had to stay in the barrack. Nothing but extreme necessary business was transacted. Capt. is supposed to have killed him self in Ft. Riley. [18]

Jan. 13. Sunday. Worked all fornoon and hauled another load in afternoon. Was done at 10 of 3.

Now I am going to write letters. Feel a longing in me to see my home, friends. No preacher here to give us a sermon so Sunday will be lonesome. Am sitting in Mess Hall. Oh those College days how lovely they were and now I am here in camp separated from my friends I loved so dear. Well it could be worse I have some dear friends here also.

Jan. 14. 1918. Monday. Hauled garbage & Latrine together with Serg. Cabiness. Old Mennonite quit working & also plain [. . .]. Was informed to appear before Major Smith tomorrow at 8 or 8.30.

Jan. 15. 1918. Tues. Hauled garbage. In the evening I noticed the beginning of the mumps. Had a nice Bible class yet before I left. [19]

Jan. 16. 1918. Was taken to the Hospital. Had a rough ride. Felt somewhat uneasy & feverish.

Jan. 17. 1918. Was swollen [. . .] but still it hasn't reached the limit.

Jan. 18. 1918. Thurs. Had the mumps right on both sides.

Jan. 19. Sat. Feeling fairly well.

Jan. 20. Sunday. Received 8 letters and one card. A fine long letter from Hans. She has various experiences to report in the letter. Were entertained by Manhattan ladies. Music & readings. Felt very lonesome. In evening had a nice experience with the boys about the Bible or rather religion.

Jan. 21. Monday. Was answering letters. Mumps were beginning to leave me.

Jan. 22. Tues. Feeling fairly well.

Jan. 23. Received my clothes and left the Hospital Sec. 7. Ward 22. in the after noon & went to 1729 Funston. [20]

Had considerable fever in afternoon and in the evening & night I had high fever. Slept but little all nite. Went down to the Latrine about 3 times to drink water during nite. Last time as I went and was on the steps I had forgotten what I wanted. Went down to the Latrine and sat down on the bench soon had to lay down and at once I began to sweat and I sweated till I was plumb wet the sweat just ran down and my worst fever was broken and I could sleep.

Jan. 24. Had my temp. taken & had 103 degrees fever at noon. Doctor was called and said I had Diphtheria and I was sent to Base Hospital Sec. 2 ward 46.

Jan. 25. My throat was pretty sore. All three Doc's said I had Diphtheria.

Jan. 26. Had my culture taken. Met with another boy who had [21] been operated on appendicitis and they had cut his nerve running to his left leg, and consequently could not use his leg. He was very much concerned about it and was sent from one hospital to another because of the maltreatment received by the operator.

Jan. 27. Sunday. Paul & Shierling came to see me and brought me a letter from P.H. Richert really explaining to us a few things. Made me lots of thots.

Jan. 28. Mond. Toews & Wiens came to see me and brought me letter from P.H. Unruh advising us to lay down. Felt somewhat indifferent. Otherwise I was feeling better. This very

morning one of the boys died of Diphtheria. He had been a regular soldier for 4 years & was swearing considerable.

Jan. 29. Tuesday. Feeling fair. Not much of anything happening. Had my second culture taken. Fine experience with the Doctor. [22]

Jan. 30. Wednesday. Received clothes and could walk around. Felt very weak but helped to wash the beds. Light work.

Jan. 31. Was moved into another room together with Leib. He was from Missouri and knew Marie & Jess Loganbill very well. Had a fine talk with him in the evening.

Feb. 1. Friday. Received third culture.

Feb. 2. Saturday. Helped to wash dishes and was feeling stronger.

Feb. 3. Notice was given that my culture was negative. Left Hospital in the afternoon. Glad of it. Said good by to boys and left. Arrived at 527 and found it quarentined and had to bunk in 636.

Feb. 4. Monday. Asked for a pass but couldn't get more than a 24 hr. left that day at 5.30 P.M. on U.P. arrived at McPherson at 8.45. at Salina [23] I bought ticket and left it in the doorway at depot. Was lucky and found it. Conductor said I couldn't do that again once out of a Hundred times.

Arrived home at 11.30. Had tire trouble & water trouble on the road. Marie & Jns. Cor. Heid & Lizzie Heidebrecht came to get me. Had a fine ride. Found Folks all looking for me. Talked till 1.15 and then went to bed.

Feb. 5. Tues. Got up at 8.30 about and ate breakfast at 9.30. Boys had all left for school. H.T.'s and Mrs. Froese & Hilda came at 11.15 about. Had a fine fine and dandy time. Oh it sure felt good to be free and together with Home folks. In afternoon H.T. Jno and I went to Newton. Was examanied and found it to be Umbilical Hernia said Dr. Haury whil Dr. Smith said it was not Hernia. Dr. Haury gave me information how to treat it. Then we went to Campus. Say that was [24] lovely. Spoke especially with Prof. Kliewer about this business of quitting and he did not know whether it would be the best thing to do. Then spoke to Krehbiel & Richert.

Shook hands with College Friends & Professors and especially with Fritz, Mandi, Minne Boese and Miss Kliewer. When Fritz saw me as I passed the boarding hall she cried out Hello Gus and then she laughed. Same old Fritz. Finally Jno Thiesen couldn't stand it any longer & he took me to his room and we talked over the whole problem. Prof. Kliewer said that he was getting letters from all sides telling him that he sold the boys to the gov. and a mother had written him that she had always thot Prof. Kliewer was a Christian but she had found out different. Jno told me this also. That sure felt like home to be on the College Campus once more. [25]

Left for home on 5.40 car.

Had a fine talk with H.T. while going up and continued it while going back. Noticed especially how bro. Jno. was interested in what we said and sure made me feel good. Ate a sandwich in Burton and noticed that I had left the books on the car which I received from Jno. Thiesesen. Arrived home about 8.15. Heidibrecht were there. Had all kinds of talks yet. Was undecided what to do, when I went bed, about the work. Father & H.T. didnt know whether it would be best to lay down everything. Went to bed together at about 1.20.

Feb. 6. Had sad fairwell greeting to all and I sure felt bad. Jno. brought me to McPherson. Arrived here at 1 oclock and found the barrack still under quarantine and 30 carriers. Paul left for detention camp went back to 636. Wrote letter to Prof. Kliewer.

Feb. 7. Didnt do anything. Wrote letter to Hans. [26]

Feb. 8. Fri. Was asked to go to Y.W. C. A.but they didn't need me. Read books & wrote letters.

Feb. 9. Sat. Helped to sweep & mop the room. Wrote letter to H.T.s. Heard the Emporia Glee Club.

Feb. 10. Sund. Helped sweep & mop room 636 and went to Sunday school Didn't like it much Lieut. Lauterbach held meeting. To much war. In evening heard fine Sermon, given by Y.M.C.A. leader.

Feb. 11. Monday. Helped sweep & mop and received notice that my application for furlough was denied and stated *No* you had better stay here and take "Short quarter Master Course" You need it. Good joke. Ha Ha!

Feb. 12. Helped sweep & mop floor. Afternoon writting. Barrack 527 still under quarantine. 7 of us boys are bunking in Mess Hall in 636. Receiving fine meals. [27]

Feb. 13. Wed. Started to clean Mess Hall in 636. Wash tables. Some dirty job. Read Calling of Dan Mathews. Fine story. Received letter from E.W. Penner & P.H. Richert.

Feb. 14. Thurs. Scrubbed tables. Still in 636 but quarantine of 527 is lifted.

Feb. 15. Friday. finished the tables in fornoon and washed in the afternoon. Have moved to 527 again.

Feb. 16. Sat. Not doing any work but keeping quarters clean. Will read in the afternoon.

Feb. 17. Sund. Had Sunday school in forenoon — "The parable of the sower." Prof. Toews from Tabor College was here and spoke in forenoon & afternoon also Smith from the Dunkards.

Feb. 18. Mond. Visited Hog range in forenoon. Write & read in afternoon. Serg. Thiessen left our barrack to-day. [28]

Feb. 19. Tuesday. Another day of rest. Cashed the draft received from the Church. Boys wrestled in afternoon. Had an Arithmetic match in forenoon. Mohler will lead to-nite. Waited on letter but didn't come —. No news.

Feb. 20. Wed. Didnt do much of anything. Still no news & no letter.

Feb. 21. Thurs. No news, no letter. Walked up to the Hog range and took a few pictures. Received letter from Minne Boe.

Feb. 22. Washingtons birthday. Received letter stating of sickness of her father. Sympathes letter. An extreme warm day.

Feb. 23. Sat. Washed Mess hall & windows in fore noon. Wrote letter in afternoon to Hans. Didn't read much.

Feb. 24. Sunday. Sunday school in forenoon led by College Senior Mr Engels from McPherson College very fine class. P.M. Met Ed Heid. and we went to Ft. Riley to visit Paul. Had to miss the Services in [29] the afternoon. Sorry, but I could not help it.

Feb. 25. Mond. Windy day. Read in forenoon and some in afternoon also played checkers. Are in need of some real work.

Feb. 26. Tuesday. Had a spelling class in forenoon.

Feb. 27. Wednesday. Nothing new has happened

Feb. 28. Thursday. Had a nice shower.

March 1. Friday. Received letter from Hans, interesting.

March 2. Sat. Oyer visited us in afternoon. Went up the hill afterward. Met with two girls Pauline Strauss Junction City R.F.D. #5 and Tillie Guegal Junction City. Had a nice chat with them i.e. Suderman Trowyer & Klassen. Took several pictures of them.

March 3. Sunday. Helped in kitchen till 9.15 then heard that Rev. P.H. Richert was in the Hostess House and could not yet receive a pass. Went to meet [30] him. Talked till ten than we went to get a pass for him and brought him into the barracks where Sunday school class was already in session. Had a nice talk with him and he seemed to be very favorably impressed and said that everything was pointing towards a change toward the better. Had a big rain. Paul & Dave were home.

March 4. Monday. Classes in forenoon and played ball in the afternoon. Wrote letter to Hans. Paul and Dave returned from home.

March 5. Tuesday. Started on classics. Played ball in afternoon had classes and singing in forenoon & after 5 P.M.

March 6. Wed. Wrote letter to Rosine. Received letter from H.T's & Jno Thiessen. Elard came out with us to play ball. Did something we shouldn't do i.e. set the beds of neighbor so it would break down by weight.

March 7. Thurs. Menno Nickle visites. Had spelling exam, made 92%. Got a scolding from Serg. Stanfield, [31] because of the noise after taps. We took notice of that. At 9.40 P.M.

we saw the Auroraboreal Northern light in the Northeast. It had a very red aspect and would change to a streak of light crossing thru the center. Lots of yelling was heard by soldier boys. Some said it was more than mere reflection that it was a sign of a bloody war to come.

March 8. Friday. Spent day in our usual manner. Received letter from prof. Balzer.

March 9. Sat. Very windy day. Smoke pipes blew down. Made up my mind to go home. Left at 4.15 P.M. on the U.P. reached home at 9 P.M. Surprised folks at home, Henry and Albert came to the door when I arrived but were afraid to open it. Then John came and opened it and recognized me.

March 10. Sunday. Was in church in forenoon, heard Prof. Kliewer in forenoon, afternoon and in the evening. Professor was at our place for supper. Was pressed from all sides by friends & relatives. Left home at 10.35 P.M. [32] Talked with many friends but couldnt talk with all those I wanted to *chat* with.

March 11. Monday. Arrived here at 7 o'clock A.M. Was tired, and headache was troubling me. Windy day.

March 12. Tues. Had classes in forenoon and played ball in the afternoon. Had an interesting Bible class. Burden and another man visited our class. Waiting on some news daily. Some boys were searched and their letters read.

March 13. Wed. Played ball in the afternoon. Had classes in forenoon.

March 14. Thurs. Had a neurological exam. Misunderstood Doc. Lieut in one question.

March 15. Fri. Rest of boys had to take neurological exam.

March 16. Saturday. Many boys went home among them Paul & Dave Jantz & Pete Neufeld.

March 17. Sund. Was K.P. all day. Rev & Prof. Hiebert from Tabor College spoke to us. An interesting meeting. Gus Jansen wedding was held in Buhler church [33] Sunday-nite. Bro. Pete & Lena from Okla were home.

March 18. Mond. Felt sick, feverish all day. Received Telegram from home that bro. Pete's were home to visit and want to speak to me. Tried to get a pass that day but got nothing but 24 hr. pass. Wouldn't take it yet applied for 48 hr. Had to send telegram home that I would not come that day.

March 19. Tues. Had classics & spelling in forenoon. Was turned down on my pass but Serg. promised to give it to me after checking in the stuff issued to us by Gov. Still feeling sick & feverish. Did not get my pass but old Serg. Stanfield says I may get it tomorrow.

March 20. Had classes in forenoon played ball in afternoon. Didn't get my pass.

March 21. Thurs. Waiting to be transferred but do not know at what time nor where we go to. [34] Received letter from Hans. Wishing to see bro Pete but it probably will not be possible.

Were transferred to 45 Co. 164 Depot Brig. Detention Camp No. 1 Funston Ks. Officers were very kind. Am together with Goertz, Goertzen, Heidebrecht, Eichenberger & Guftavson.

March 22. Friday. Cleaned our tent and quarters thats all. Took a walk, enjoyed it. That's all we are supposed to do says Capt. Kintz.

March 23. Sat. Tried once more to get a pass but could only get a 24 hr. pass. Capt. explained it to me very definitely. Tried to phone home but the officers at the Bell Station had a peculiar way of keeping me from it. They wanted me to tell them to what organization I belong, when I told them to the 45 Depot Brig. they wouldnt believe me and sent me out to inquire of my Capt. to what organization I belong. [35] I then sent a telegram home instead of writing and will never visit that Bell Station again if not absolutely necessary.

March 24. Sund. Bro. Pete & Father were here for breakfast. Had a nice visit with them, but it resulted in a sad parting. I noticed it before, but Pete broke out in tears when finally he said that it had almost broke Lena's heart when she found out that she could not see me. He grasped my hand firmly and said, "God be with you, not so, Gus?" and he cried and we could hardly part. I then went to my bed and cried for I could not keep from it any longer. I had to resist again when we parted for Pete could not. Had a fine prayer meeting yet and went to bed.

March 25. Mond. played ball in forenoon and partly in afternoon. Had spelling class.

March 26. Tues. For first time played 6-0 gave the other side a 0. [36] In the afternoon had a 2 hr. walk. Received copy of the ruling from Washington. It defines Non-Combatant service, but leaves question for Sec. Baker to decide what to do with us. P.H. Richert was here, called here by Kleinsasser on account of the 15% Non-Comb. They are all in the guard house.

March 27. Wed. Nothing new has occurred. Wrote a letter to H.T's. that I most likely will not come home for Easter.

March 28. Thurs. Was in tent all day. Had a fine rain. Had nice talk or chat with boys.

March 29. Friday. Good Friday had a nice talk with Pete Neufeld on the question of policeing up in the Zone which we were asked to do. Had many a thot about home. Heard that Uncle Abe Gaeddert had received notice and was to report for Service April 1. Had a nice Crucifixion discussion or meeting in the evening. [37]

March 30. Sat. Had a nice little talk with Capt. Kintz in the morning as regarding our attitude toward the work in camp and asked him whether all this policing up was taken as belonging to our quarters. He did not answer it but said "I have charge of the whole zone now and do you think I will clean up the vacant part of it?" He intimated about the ruling that we would soon get it and we would than have to accept either quarter master, Medical or Eng. Corps, if not we would be put in Disciplinary barracks etc. We told him that the new ruling said that we need not accept any work which would violate our religious conviction.

Received my first shot for typhoid fever i.e. first of third trial arm is sore.

Received a fine letter from Jacob.

March 31. Easter Sunday. Was sick with a head ache all day because of the shot or inoculation I received Sat. Thot of home and friends and especially what the day meant for us it being Easter morning and celebrating it in [38] the camp or detention camp.

April 1. Easter Monday. sec. holiday.

Nothing new happened except some of the boys were asked to sign the allotment cards and they were not present so I had to hunt for them in the woods along the Caw river. This

meant that our permission was restricted to definite boundaries, on the South, the telephone line, on the East and West boundary of our quarters on the North the top of hill Rocks on top. This is due to some of the boys taking advantage of permission given.

April 2. Tuesday. Took a 2 hr's. hike over the hills, were tired and dirty when we arrived at the tents. In the afternoon they read to us the ruling and explained it. Lieut. Hikerson read and explained the ruling to us and was surprizingly kind in doing so. He read to us twice a part of number 2 about that, "will be assigned [39] to non-comb. military service as defined in paragraph 1 to the extent that such persons are able to accept service," etc. and 3 "on the first day of April and hereafter monthly," etc. Then he gave permission for us to question if we did not understand. Next he told us that we would be called into the orderly room according to alphabetical order and we should than answer whether we wanted to accept or not. If not, we were to give our reasons in short why not. Oh but how our brains did work. Beargen was called in first. Lieut Hickerson questioned us while another man took it down in short hand. When I was called in I saluted him & he returned and said, "which of these three services will you accept?" "None" I said. "None," said he. "Yes sir None," said I. "Because of your religious belief, that it is under the military establishment?" asked Lieut. "Yes sir, but because the teachings and priniciples of Christ forbid me too." [40] "That's all," Lieut. said, and I was dismissed. I forgot to salute him when I left. He was to kind indeed. Marvin Schmidt was transfered into our Co. and he also had to answer. He accepted Medical corps. Met him for the first time in the camp. Future will decide as to the hardships connected with it, besides those already received. May God but help us to do what is in accordance with his will.

April 3. Wed. Received a letter from father telling me about the Ordination of my bro-in-law H.T. & sis. Annie. Told me how we were remembered in prayer and also at this occasion how Rev. P.H. Unruh had especially remembered me before God in prayer. I felt consoled and still home-sick when I read it. Answered Prof. Balzers letter and gave him exactly my opinion. It always takes special thot and exactness when I write to the Prof's or Committee. A certain Quacker also came to our Co. and has laid down all work. [41] He had been a military Police

before for six mos., but when they started to use guns for this service he quit everything; thus is now with us.

April 4. Thurs. Nothing new occurred. It was a windy and dusty day. Sudernman's brother is sick on Spinal Meningitis.

April 5. Friday. The article on furloughs appeared for the first time in the paper as it was finished by Maj. Gen. March, April 4. It is a wise and clear cut law. I sent it home right away and instructed father how to proceed in case I was needed for I certainly desired to help in this line.

April 6. Saturday. A piece found in the Trench & Camp:

He doesn't know.

By H.E. Fisher.

"The man who doesn't know" is at one of the Camp Funston detention camps in the person of Seay, who can be fully described as six feet three and dark, very dark, black.

Beyond the fact that he's in the army now, and that the meals at the camp are much to his liking, Lazarus confesses to knowing nothing. Where he was born, how old he is, even whether or not he is married proved questions fraught with deep, dark mystery to the colored lad, who is described as the most magnificently ignorant person in camp, by officers who attempted to fill out his personal record blanks.

"Where do you live?" was the first question that stumped this reverse prodigy, who stood scratching his woolly head in perplexity. "Ay do'n rightly know, boss," he replied. "Ah jes sorta mosseys aroun'."

Lazarus thinks that his parents are dead but wasn't certain enough to answer the question definitely. The question of whether he was married or not worried him, too. "Lawd, man, I jes do'n know, dassall. Dat woman of mine got uppity one [43] day and jes lef' me flat. Ah think she got a divo'ce, but ah ain't certa."

What was her maiden name?

"Now ain't that funny, boss? Ah jes plumb disremember."

He has forgotten where he was born, and he can't remember when. He doesn't belong to any lodge, he has no dependents and may be he had a best friend, but if so he's forgotten him. There fore, he points out there is no one to notify in case of any emergency.

Lazarus's ignorance is apparently real. To nearly every question his answer was "Ah jes sorta disremember, boss, dassall," given with all of the ingenuousness of his race. In despair the recording officer finally put his last question, "What is your attitude regarding the war?"

"Lawdy, boss, ah don't know. Ah do'n suppose ahs goin' to do it much good."

And only the cook, who declares a man who eats like Lazarus can surely fight, disagrees with him.

Had inspection to-day. A splendid day. [44] Had a fine rain during the night.

April 7. 1918. Sunday. Rev. Amstutz was here and gave us a fine sermon. In the forenoon I went with him to Fort Riley to see a certain Showalter from Halstead then in the afternoon after services I walked with him to Camp Funston. Had a fine time.

April 8. Monday. Received a package from home and also letter. 30 boys were taken to Funston and once more tried.

Notice on bulletin required me & others to write this letter: Funston Ks. April 8'18.
Capt. F.J. Kintz. 45 Co. 164 Depot Brig.

Dear Sir:

The following are my reasons for objecting to accept any work under the three branches of service, Medical, Quarter master, and Engineers Corps, as declared by the Pres. to be Non-combatant military service:

The three branches of service, as mentioned above, belong to the military machine and as such are necessary to make the military machine efficient, and likewise necessary to carry on modern warfare; whose aim is to bring about peace by destroying the enemy. [45] My participation in this service would mean that I was playing my part to make this machine efficient i.e. to conquer the enemy at any cost. Therefore I cannot participate in this service, for

Christ says in Matt. 5:44, "but I say unto you, Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you." Likewise, in John 8:7, when the scribes and Pharisees bring to Christ a woman taken in Adultery and question whether she should be stoned Christ says to them: "He that is without sin let him first cast a stone at her."

These Scriptures are well known to you Captain and as such need not be quoted; but they and others are the principles and teachings of Christ upon which the Mennonite Church founded its Doctrine some 400 yrs ago, of which church I am as member. Thus being trained and taught accordingly my conscience forbids me to participate in war in any form.

Sincerely

Gustav R. Gaeddert. [46]

April 9. 1918. Nothing much happened. Played ball in the afternoon. Received letter from Hans.

April 10. Wed. Some of the boys were asked whether they could do work at Fort Riley cleaning up. They rejected.

April 11. Thurs. In the after-noon Colonel Parker & also known as Judge Advocate spoke to us boys and tried to tangle up what we had by explaining to us the ruling like he did. Result was lots of thot but otherwise left conditions as before. He likewise threatened us if we would not change mind.

April 12. Friday. Day of thot —.

April 13. Sat. Took hike in forenoon. Received my third inoculation and sec. vaccination. ans. Hans letter. Took almost 7 mo to fix me up on that. Side was sore but otherwise felt alright.

April 14. Sunday. Heidebrecht bro's & Edd. were here. Also Rev. Albrecht. Had a long talk with Albrecht. Brought me on old thots.

April 15. Mond. My thots and arguments were finally defeated and I felt good and thankful. Were taken out on a hike this afternoon, [47] best hike taken as yet. Also two more

men came in Joe Walman & Kleinsasser from S.D. Felt good. George P. Stucky died Sunday morning at 7 o'clock. Will be taken home tomorrow. He had the pluersy.

April 16. Tues. Took hike in the afternoon

April 17. Wed. Went to Funston in the afternoon to clean the barrack 1734 where we were suppose to move in the following day. Sailors lost some money \$45. and boys were searched but money and purse was not found.

April 18. Thurs. Moved to Funston into barrack 1734. Remained in same Co. retaining same officers. Money & purse was found by Marion Schmidt in the trash box. A great give away by somebody. Put a black spot on our Company.

April 19. Washed Mess hall & had a good rain all day. It began to snow at 4.30 P.M. and snowed all night. [48]

April 20. Saturday. Still snowing at 9.30 A.M. Have inspection at 9. Snowed all day.

April 21. Sunday. Had no minister here to speak to us. Had Sunday school in the forenoon and our usual prayer meeting in the evening.

April 22. Monday. Nothing new occurred. Helped to clean the mess hall like usual. Some of the boys receiving the furlough blanks as filled out by the local board and have signed it. I would refuse to do so because of certain state ments in it. Jacob J. Tochetto received his discharge to-day because of mental deficiency.

April 23. Tues. Took a hike thru Ogden and for once saw the outside world again. Everything certainly looks fine.

April 24. Wed. Nothing new happening.

April 25. Thurs. Rained. Received letter from Hans and father. Learned that the furlough is not for us.

April 26. Friday. Boys took a hike but I was not along was [49] just then shaveing myself.

April 27. Sat. Learned that Bernhard Bartel is in the guard house getting along fine.
Answered Han's letter in a questionable way.

April 28. Sunday. Dr. Kurtz was here and wanted to speak to us but it was forbidden
him. He also advised the boys of their creed to accept some work.

April 29. Monday. Had Muster Roll.

April 30. Tues. Went home at 2.35. Reached home 7.30 P.M. Went to see my wheat &
oats. Oats is fine but wheat looks slim. Also went to see Hans but she was not home. Had a fine
time. HT's P.F.s also were home. Went to bed at 4.00 A.M.

May 1. Wed. Came back to camp at 1.30 Captain told us we should take up our bed
and go to sleep.

May 2. Thurs. Worked in Mess Hall.

May 3. Fri. Nothing new. [50]

May 4. Sat. Open Sat. for ladies and also were well represented.

May 5. Sund. Rev H.P. Krehbiel was here. Couldn't speak because Serg. would not
permit had received orders from Capt. not too. We went to find Major Smith but could not find
him. Thru direction of information bureau H.P. Krehbiel spoke to the Capt. of M.P. who
recognized him as a Co-member of him in Legislature of 1909 and gave him permission to enter
the building and speak. Orders of Capt. Kintz were contrary and thus he would not be permitted
to speak. He recognized and appreciates our stand.

May 6. Mond. Took a hike and had fun with a squirrel.

May 7. Tues. Worked in Mess-hall.

May 8. Wed. Received letter from Hans which was interesting and more than that. It
was conditional. Gave me many new thots.

May 9. Thurs. Assention of Christ. Worked in the Mess Hall.

May 10. Fri. Very windy day. [51] Answered the letter of Hans and tried to satisfy her
in the questions put to me. Also did I give her my faults and explained to her how I looked at the
problem did not finish it tho.

May 11. Sat. Finished the letter and had it mailed. Cleaned the Mess Hall. lots of dust in it. Other boys went on the hike. Waited to meet my Uncles & Aunts at fore oclock but they didn't come. Met them after supper and Paul & I got a pass and went along with them to Manh. had a fine time.

May 12. Sunday. Paul Henry & I slept in one bed. Had lots of fun. Met Ernest Penners sweetheart & Ernest Wiebe in Manhatten. Left Manh. at 9:15 and arrived at Funston at 10. Had a fine & explanitory talk with Katherine on this present problem. She seemed to be very much concerned about it. They left at 3. P.M.

May 13. Mond. Played a game of ball. Nothing new. Bartel is in our barrack now. Heard the Messiah thru the help of Hayden who furnished us with tickets. [52]

May 14-18. Have been doing my usual work otherwise things have been comparitively quiet. Two Galle boys, Harnley and several other fellows were transferred into this building but also transferred out the same week. Galle boys accepted quarter master work. Applied for a pass and also received it.

May 19. Sunday. Left for home at 5.45 and reached home 10.30 A.M. Was in church at Baptism in the forenoon; in after noon George Froezens, H.T's and likewise Dave Unraus were here. In the evening I visited with Hans and certainly had a fine time and talk with her. Left for Camp at 12.15 A.M. and arrived in Funston at 5.30 A.M.

May 20. Monday. Ernest Penner, Paul Barsh, Johnson, Warkentine, Klassen and about 18 others were transferred into our barrack. They all seem to be fine boys, and certainly were glad to see them come. Some refused to accept any of the three branches of service while the other accepted either Medical or Quartermaster corps.

May 21. Tues. Boys went on a hike. A windy day again. Some of those boys who were transferred into our barrack were taken to Headquarters to explain their position.

May 22. Wed. Had a big rain during the night and another one in the morning. Received a book from John M. Horsh Scottdale Pa. "Menno Simon's life. to be used by all the boys in the camp." The 89 Division is in mobilization now. Six train loads left to-day.

May 23. Thur. The Serg. slipped one over us when we carried the gun racks from the wood pile to our barracks. It taught me to be more careful. [54]

May 24. Friday. Ernest Penner and the other boys who accepted work were transferred to their respective places. Hated to see Ernest go.

May 25. Sat. John Gaeddert & E.O. Schmidt were transferred into our barrack. Both accepted work.

May 26. Sunday. Rev. P.H. Richert and prof. Hiebert visited us and we had a fine forenoon. Rev. Richert led the Bible class while prof. Hiebert spoke to us. In the after noon I wrote a letter to Hans but did not finish it because Ernest & Abe came to visit us.

May 27. Monday. Finished the letter I left undone yesterday.

May 28. Tues. Still raining about every night. Received letter from Hans. Boys have been and are still leaving fast. The 89th Division has left while the 92 is getting ready.

May 29. Wed. Sang in the morning. Intended to have my teeth repaired but did not. [55]

May 30. Thurs. Decoration day and Pres. Proclamation day. We observed it had a meeting from 11 A.M. till 2 P.M. Meeting consisted of prayer, singing, reading of scriptures with comments on them by the speaker.

May 31. Friday. Curt Galle came to borrow shoes. Nothing new occurred.

June 1. Sat. Read a few statements in the newspaper regarding our future. What will be done with us. Asked for pass & received it also.

June 2. Sunday. left for home at 5.15 A.M. Reached home at 10.30 found mother in the flower garden picking flowers for decoration of children's day. Annie I got after dinner from Inman while George Froezens were at home for dinner while Mr. H.T. Unruh came in the evening being at Hillsboro having been asked to speak there. The feast was fair Walter sang a solo, was good. Met many friends and likewise P.K. Regier was home. In evening I went to see Hans found her sitting on the porch with her sis. brothers and nephews around her. [56] Certainly enjoyed my time talked to her about the plans being made for us, which she herself had read

already. Left her at 10.15 came home and found H.T. there. Mamma took it hard. She is to dear to have her suffer like she does because of my absence, where I am. Left home at 12.15 and reached camp at 5.30 A.M.

June 3. Monday. day of rest & sleep and windy at that.

June 4. Tues. Had my money cashed at store wouldn't cash it in the bank because of the many false checks coming from soldiers that are leaving.

June 5. Wed. Quakers boys received the ruling yesterday of May 31. I copied it and sent a copy to H.P. Krehbiel. Played a game of basket ball in evening East against West. We beat them 11-6.

June 6. Thurs. Commencement week. The Western District Conference meets at College to-day.

June 7. Friday. Rumors begin to appear that a transfer can be expected at any time. Received a welcome letter from Hans. [57]

June 8. Saturday. Notice was given to Jacob H. Suderman by Capt. Kintz that we would be transfered to Detention Camp No. 1. again.

June 9. Sunday. John Thiessen and P.K. did not come. What has happened to them I do not know. Met Lena Esau, had some pictures taken, altho in a different way that Paul and I had intended too. Received a letter from Jacob telling me that Marie is in the Goessel Hospital.

June 10. Monday. Waiting for orders to be transferred.

June 11. Tues. Left for Detention camp at 2 P.M. Packed everything in forenoon. Retained the same officers with the exception of some sergent's corporals and buck privates acting somewhat fresh all from the 58 Co our address likewise was changed to 58 Co. Detention Camp No 1.

June 12. Wed. Wrote letter to Hans. Had various experiences. Cut grass with pocket knife all day. Asked us to help put up tents etc. [58] At 3 P.M. we received the orders that it is to hot to cut grass ha! ha! some logic, took them quite a while to find out.

June 13. Thurs. Continued to cut grass but they asked us again to help build tents etc. In the evening Paul Boese & I went to the grove by means of permission and wrote letters to bro John.

June 14. Friday. Finished cutting and carrying away grass. Asked us to cut grass in the veneral district. No! After noon we also cut the ditch of the road, slanting. Those corporals and private giving orders.

June 15. Sat. Was on K.P. duty, had a good time. Boys were asked to cut grass on the baseball dimond, after noon they were off but in forenoon had to remain on the hill till 11.30 A.M. ha! ha! No passes were permitted. We boys even had to stay back of the last row of tents, they said that we may catch spinal Meningitis germs if we would get to close to the highway ha! ha! Sudermans [59] bro. Paul Bartel, Wiens and others had intended to go home their cars had arrived but passes are not permitted. About 11 P.M. Jacob Neufeld crawling into our tent with the intentions to sew the trowsers when so doing he was noticed; when he returned them Heidebrecht gave him a hasty shower leaving him to disappear almost unnoticed. This was a make up by Unruh and others because of false statements regarding Heidebrecht, telling them that he would get married Sunday afternoon.

June 16. Sunday. Had a fine Sunday-School lesson on the crucifixion of Jesus led by Hioth. In the afternoon, boys could not see their friends, confined. Had some fine waterfights to keep cool. Ernest & Abe came to see us.

June 17. Monday. Was on K.P. duty. Had lots of fun. Boys were sent on the hill again. Letter from Hans.

June 18. Tues. Declared my intentions to the Friends Service Committee to join in the Reconstruction [60] work thru a letter. Recommended Prof. Kliewer Rev. Krehbiel Rev. D.D. Unruh and John Thiessen for the persons to recommend me.

June 19. Wed. Was on K.P. duty. Boys made their usual visit to the hills.

June 20. Thurs. Moved to another zone. My tent mates are Suderman Epp J. Miller, Hofstetter, and Naffziger. gave the tent a good bathe. Retained the same address.

June 21. Fri. Our day in kitchen. Oh but the kitchen was dirty changed it from a — pen to kitchen by 10.30 A.M.

June 22. Sat. The boys finished the building of the Messhall. In the evening the captain gave us a splendid talk. Among other things he said that he had met us half ways and expected the same in return, also said he you will not be here a lifetime. Expecting us to build corner-stone. Commenting on the clean tents with few exceptions.

June 23. Sunday. Was on duty all day. Rained in forenoon. Wrote letter to H.Ts Hioth could see his wife for a short [61] time but was asked to go back by the Major & Capt. Kintz. Expecting a change.

June 24. Mond. Lots of boys are leaving for the various camps again to-day. Among them Mr. H.H. Lohrentz, Sarahs cousin. Many tears will be shed again to-day. 8 more COs came in while 18 N.C's go out today.

June 25. Tues. 10 NonComb. and 1 CO came in today. Carl Richert and John Wiens among them. Worked in kitchen. Received letter from J. Thiessen.

June 26. Wed. Ans Han's letter also wrote letter to Lizzie Dick. Notice posted on the bulletin that our mail (outgoing) will be censored. Some buck privates are reading some of the letters.

June 27. Thur. 2 more came in today (morning)

June 28. Fri. Was requested to give my reason for refusing to wear the uniform.

To Capt. F.J. Kintz. June 28.'18

58 Co. 64 D.B.

Dear Sir:

In reply to your request [62] I present my reasons for objecting to wear the regulation uniform which read as follows:

Sec. of War Baker, has from the very beginning of the war respected men of religious convictions and principles and not asked them to do anything which would violate their conscience. Therefore I have not been required to wear the uniform.

Since I cannot conscientiously accept any military service, I likewise cannot wear the regulation uniform; because, if wearing it, I would be misrepresenting to the public and inconsistent to my belief. To the soldier, as a soldier, it is an honor to wear the uniform bearing its insignia and representing its purpose. Therefore, because of my position, with my objection to wear the uniform I avoid misrepresentation and remain consistent with my belief and the dictates of my conscience. Sincerely — [63]

June 29. Sat. Had general inspection in Kitchen by Major Capt. & Lieut. also tent inspection by Lieut. King. Worked in kitchen.

June 30. Sund. My day off, certainly had a fine rain during Sat & Sund. nite the tent leaked considerably floor was all wet and partly beds also.

July 1. Monday. Received letter from Hans. Our day in kitchen.

July 2. Received orders to move to Camp Dodge. Major general Woods inspected the camp. Left Funston at 4 P.M. enjoyed the trip immensely, arrived at Topeka about 6 P.M. at K.C. Mo. about 7:30 and in Camp Dodge about 9 o'clock.

July 3. Reached Dodge at 9 were taken thru the receiving station than finally to our home to be. In the afternoon we were marched before the Board of Inquiry composed of Major Stoddard Stone and took 8 to 14 at a time.

July 4. I appeared before the Board asked me only how old when I joined Church and whether I had a certificate. Questioned Carl considerable. [64] Plett, and Trower were put in Class 4.

July 5. Fri. Was on K.P. We were marched to the place of the scaffold where they hung three Negroes because of raping a woman. Certainly was a tragic scene, several cooks fainted — awful. unhuman.

July 6. Sat. Were told that the following day we were all to drill. Ha! [. . .] all read to us a few orders which we had heard before only by different interpretation.

July 7 Sunday. — Our first sermon given by Chaplin Smith — tried his best to convince the C.Os. Quartett sang Secret [. . .].

July 8-Aug. 27. Heard many a supposed to be sermon trying to convince us to accept non-comb work — failed completely all chaplins of the 88 division of Dodge and many a prominent Civilian minister has spoken to us during that time called us yellow dogs skunks and threatened us in different ways. The Sergeants and Lieut Dockey Wilson were always [65] very kind to us and the Sergs. have treated us with due respect. At first we didn't take any exercise — than we started with calisthenics continued that until finally we took hikes about Aug. 15 we started it ordered by General of the Camp. John Andies was the first one to be furloughed out. We always had our evening devotional meeting and a joint meeting every Thurs. and Sunday evenings. Good programs too. Lots of quartett singing everybody enjoyed it.

Aug. 28. David Goertz Elmer Jantz Paul Heidebrecht Jns Friesen Carl Graber and myself were furloughed out to Independence, Iowa State Hospital. left Dodge in evening to Des Moines together with Rec. Boys who left the same day for Phil. Hated to part with them. Arrived at Des Moines at 9 P.M. Serg Neufeur accompanied us. Missed our train to Independence so we stayed over nite in Des Moines first nite of Freedom how good it felt too, not to be expressed in words.

Text

The original diary book, preserved at the Mennonite Library and Archives in Newton, Kansas, serves as the copy-text for this edition. No other versions of Gaeddert's diary exist or were published; his only known publication about his World War I experiences was a letter he wrote to *The Mennonite*, a General Conference periodical, while detained at Camp Funston. The book H.P. Krehbiel sent Gaeddert in response to Gaeddert's request for a diary is not in appearance a diary, having no pre-printed dates on its pages, no lock and key, none of the physical characteristics we often associate with a diary. Instead, Gaeddert's book seems to be more a composition book, similar no doubt to those he carried to the Bethel Academy as a student several years earlier.

The diary's lined pages are bound by string. The composition book has no margins save for an inch at the top of each page, and Gaeddert only rarely transgressed this margin but used all available space on the page itself, often writing in small print at the page's bottom in his effort to squeeze just a bit more on to the paper. He wrote on both sides of each page; pre-printed numbers appear on the upper outside corner of the pages, and because Gaeddert wrote on consecutive pages from one to 65, we know that he did not rip out or destroy any part of his diary. Gaeddert's diary is remarkably readable, in great part due to his fair hand and his consistent composition in dark ink.

Textual Notes

- 149.13 "We parted" appears to be an addition to the diary, as it is written in the margin to the left of the September 19, 1917, entry. However, as Gaeddert was writing this entry some time after October 4 (when he presumably wrote many of these early entries), inscribing this passage in the margin may merely be Gaeddert's attempt to have the September 19 entry finish on one line before he began working on his recall for the experiences of September 20.
- 157.21 This word is indecipherable because of Gaeddert's uncharacteristic obscured handwriting at this point.
- 157.27 An ink splotch, approximately two inches in diameter, conceals two words in this entry.
- 163.12-13 The sentence "Talked with . . . *chat* with" appears in the top margin above the March 11 entry.
- 164.14-15 An arrow is drawn from the words "that's all" to the sentence beginning "That's all we are supposed to do . . ."
- 168.10 A hand-drawn line appears in the text between the end of the *Trench and Camp* piece and the conclusion of Gaeddert's entry for April 6, 1918.
- 177.17 Gaeddert leaves a space here, suggesting he could not recall the other men on the Board of Inquiry, Judge Julian W. Mack and Dean Harlan F. Stone.
- 177.24 Word is indecipherable because of Gaeddert's handwriting.
- 177.27 Word is indecipherable because of Gaeddert's handwriting.

Emendations

Each emendation is keyed to the appropriate page and line number. This edition follows the standard lemma form of reporting emendations: the accepted reading appears to the right, followed by a bracket and then the copy text reading. The following symbols will also be used in this list:

- < > passage deleted by the author
- ↑↓ authorial interlineations
- ~ portion of copy text reading agreeing with this edition's reading.
- ^ absence of item in the copy text which is found in this edition

- 149.12 Friends] < Went to > ~
- 149.13 eyes we parted] ~ ↑we parted ↓
- 149.16 endure] < indecipherable >
- 149.26 transfered] tra ↑ns ↓fered
- 150.11 Met many] Metmany
- 151.7 fight?"] ~ ? ^
- 152.25 we are] weare
- 153.6 my plan or thot] ~ ↑ or thot ↓
- 153.7 to Christian] < had > ~
- 153.11 I & Mary] ~ ↑ & Mary ↓
- 153.15 evening I] ~ ↑ I ↓
- 153.22 happened. thot of home & school] ~ ↑ thot of home and school ↓
- 153.27 Made] < Hauled > ~
- 154.22 envy me] envyme
- 154.25 meetings or gatherings] ~ ↑ or gatherings ↓
- 156.3 Will go] ↑ Will ↓ ~

- 156.10 Talked about] ~ ↑ about ↓
- 157.2 and] ~ < may >
- 157.9 knife or hatchet] ~ ↑ or hatchet ↓
- 158.12 but little] ~ < a > ~
- 158.20 his nerve] ~ < left > ~
- 158.24 explaining to] ~ ↑ to ↓
- 159.9 Received third culture] ~ < second > ↑ third ↓
- 159.14 pass] ~ < p >
- 159.16 left it] < lost > ↑ left ↓
- 159.17 once out] ~ ↑ out ↓
- 160.4 we talked] ~ < po > ~
- 160.15 Had] < Arrived > ~
- 161.1 that my application] ~ ↑ my application ↓
- 161.22 up to] ~ ↑ to ↓
- 161.23 pictures. Received ... Boe.] ~ ↑ Received ... Boe. ↓
- 162.9 March] < Feb >
- 163.1 Auroraboreal] ~ ↑ etc. ↓
- 163.5 from prof. Balzer] ~ ↑ prof. Balzer ↓
- 163.12-13 Talked with ... with] ↑ Talked with ... with ↓
- 163.19 March 13] ~ < 12 > ↑ 13 ↓
- 163.20 March 14] ~ < 13 > ↑ 14 ↓
- 163.21 March 15] ~ < 14 > ↑ 15 ↓
- 163.22 March 16] ~ < 15 > ↑ 16 ↓
- 163.24 March 17] ~ < 16 > ↑ 17 ↓
- 164.1 Felt] fel < f > t
- 164.9 transferred] ~ < yest >
- 164.16 that we] that < he > ↑ we ↓

- 165.26 happened except] ~ <expc> ~
- 166.11 alphabetical order] alphabet ↑ ical order ↓
- 166.13 while another] ~ a ↑ nother ↓
- 166.15 sir] ~ <">
- 167.1 but when] ↑ but ↓ ~
- 168.2 best friend] ↑ best ↓ ~
- 168.6 the recording] ~ <the> ~
- 168.17 me & others] ~ ↑ & others ↓
- 169.11-12 afternoon. Received . . . Hans.] ~ ↑ Received . . . Hans. ↓
- 169.15 also known as] ~ ↑ known as ↓
- 169.17 left conditions] ~ ↑ conditions ↓
- 169.18 would not change mind] ~ ↑ not change mind ↓
- 169.21 vaccination. Ans. Hans letter.] ~ ↑ ans. Hans. letter. ↓
- 170.2 the pluersy] ~ <measles> ~
- 170.17-18 Tochetti received . . . deficiency.] ~ ↑ received . . . deficiency. ↓
- 171.22 May 8. Wed.] Wed. May 8.
- 171.24 Assention of Christ. Worked] ↑ Assention of Christ. ↓ ~
- 172.18 in] <at> ↑ in ↓
- 172.23 who] <that> ↑ who ↓
- 172.25 one in] ~ <during> ~
- 172.27 camp."] ~. ^
- 173.8 Rev. Richert led] ↑ Rev. Richert ↓ ~
- 173.22 day.] ~ <Mr.>
- 173.22-23 dinner from Inman] ~ ↑ from Inman ↓
- 173.26 sis. Brothers] ~ <and> ~
- 174.4 June 3. Monday] Monday 3
- 174.5 June 4. Tues.] Tues. 4

174.6 June 5. Wed.] Wed. 5 of June
174.10 June 6. Thurs.] Thurs. 6.
174.12 June 7. Friday.] Friday 7
174.14 June 8. Saturday.] Saturday 8th of June
175.14 was a] ~ < tr >
175.17 June 16. Sunday.] Sunday. June 16.
175.20 June 17. Monday.] Monday June 17
175.22 June 18. Tuesday.] Tues. June 18
175.25 June 19. Wed.] Wed. June 19
175.26 June 20. Thurs.] Thurs. June 20
176.1 June 21. Fri.] Fri. June 21
171.6 clean] < sanitary > ~

Commentary

- 149.2 H.P. Krehbiel: Henry Peter Krehbiel. A General Conference Mennonite from North Newton, Kansas. During the Great War he was a member of the Committee on Exemptions for both the Western District and General Conference; he traveled to Washington and to various detainment camps to assist objectors. According to historian James Juhnke, he was one of the most significant General Conference leaders during the Great War.
- 149.16 Mamma and Marie: Katharina (Ratzlaff) Gaeddert, Gustav Gaeddert's mother, and Marie Gaeddert, his older sister.
- 149.19 Came before Colonel: According to Noah Leatherman, another Mennonite objector conscripted at the same time, Gaeddert was the "chief spokesman" during this interview at company headquarters; Gaeddert maintained this leadership position among Camp Funston objectors throughout their detainment, a role he does not much address in his diary.
- 149.22-23 Had a trial . . .at 8.45 A.M.: An incidence in which eight men were beaten for refusing officer demands to do sanitation work on Sundays. The other objectors in Gaeddert's detachment who were not beaten apparently acquiesced when ordered by their captain to board the garbage trucks and work. Those who ignored this order were marched to the edge of camp and knocked down by soldiers bearing guns, beaten, then marched back to their barracks.
- 150.2 P.H. Unruh: Peter Herman Unruh, a General Conference Mennonite. In 1917-18, Unruh was pastor of the Alexanderwohl Mennonite Church, Goessel, Kansas, and a member of the Home Mission Committee of the Western District Conference.

- 150.2 P.H. Richert: Peter H. Richert, a General Conference Mennonite and in 1917-1918, a pastor of the Tabor Mennonite Church in Goessel, Kansas. He was also a member of the Western District Conference Exemption Committee.
- 150.9 H.T. Unruh: During the Great War, Unruh attended Bethel College (1914-1917) and worked from 1917-1920 on the Home Mission Board for General Conference Mennonites.
- 150.11 Rev. A. Dyck: Abraham J. Dyck, associate pastor of Gaeddert's home congregation, Hoffnungsau Church, Inman, Kansas.
- 150.25 John: Younger brother John Gaeddert, who was drafted in 1918.
- 151.3 learned of situation here: Several Mennonite objectors had refused to do any more sanitation work, and so were put in a guard house, given a diet of bread and water, forced to sleep on floor, and forbidden to speak with other objectors.
- 151.12 day of arrusement: Gaeddert is probably addressing the turmoil surrounding Camp Funston objectors that day; those who refused to do sanitation detail were ordered to stand by their barracks in the cold and snow during working hours. Yellow placards affixed to their hats said "C.O. won't work," and they were forced to wear arm bands noting their C.O. status.
- 152.6 John Thiessen: A close friend of Gaeddert's from Bethel Academy, who was not drafted and so attended Bethel College during the war.
- 152.11 Schmidt: Carl Schmidt of Moundridge, Kansas. He was conscripted from September 1917 to January 1919. In October 1918, he was arrested for refusing to cut weeds and received a 25 year sentence to Fort Leavenworth.
- 152.23 uneasy about the work: One day earlier, Gaeddert wrote to Krehbiel and outlined his ambiguous feelings about accepting sanitation work. Because he believed the work was "harmless" and the military institution

"destructive," he was unclear what action he and other objectors should take, and hoped that Krehbiel or the Exemption committee could show the way. Gaeddert implored them to offer answers only after seeing clearly the objectors' plights and "leav[ing] out of consideration all punishment that is such as may happen to come (I don't care about it) and knowing that a compromise between right and wrong is impossible."

- 153.7 Christian Endeavor: Established in 1881, Christian Endeavor was the first youth ministry movement in the United States; and focused (and continues to focus) its mission in local churches, where youth are encouraged to express Christian charity in their local communities.
- 153.11 Miss Lohrentze: Sara Lohrentz, who took over Gaeddert's classroom when he was conscripted; Lohrentz and Gaeddert would marry in 1921.
- 154.2 Lieut Ray: C.C. Ray, put in charge of conscientious objectors at Camp Funston on November 23, 1917. According to Sarah D. Shields, Ray "used imaginative measures in order to prevent widespread defection of soldiers to the conscientious objectors, and of the working objectors to those who would not cooperate. Those who would not work were ordered to stand outside while the others loaded the sanitation trucks." During an investigation of Ray's practices instigated by the National Civil Liberties Union, Ray defended himself by saying such punishment was necessary and by arguing that he had never heard the executive order of October 10, 1917, demanding that officers treat pacifists with "tact and consideration." As a result of Ray's command and the investigation, a stockade was constructed at Camp Funston to house conscientious objectors who refused to work (Shields 264).
- 154.14 Busy on Exemption: In early December 1917, conscientious objectors were forced to file new claims for exemption from combatant duty. Gaeddert reported in a letter to Krehbiel that an order was posted on the

company bulletin board stating "those who think that the Local Board has not given them a fair chance will be given another chance here in camp if they file their claim before Dec. 15"; all previous exemptions had been canceled by Judge Advocate General Enoch Crowder. Gaeddert assumed the new order was another way military officers could "take advantage" of objectors, but complied by filing new affidavits for exemption (06 December 1917).

154.24-26 Bulletin . . . Bible class: Apparently, on this occasion, religious services were not vengefully canceled by Camp Funston's military officers. Instead, a general quarantine had been imposed on the camp; only eight men were allowed to meet in one place at any time. This specific quarantine was lifted around Christmas, 1917.

155.15 Xmas: Gaeddert wrote to Krehbiel on 27 December 1917 about his Christmas celebration at Camp Funston. He said: "Christmas present's crowded in by the 'wholesale' and everybody seemed to receive his share and more than that. Every body felt thankful for it also and yet it was not near what Xmas would have been at home. I hope this is the last Christmas that I need to spend in a camp. We had big doings here also, but they were Fourth of July celebrations, but not near a Xmas program."

156.12 Lecture: A common event in Great War military camps, sponsored by the Commission on Training Camp Activities, whose task it was to mold soldiers' characters. Warning soldiers of sexually transmitted diseases was seen as one way to remove the scourge of immorality from training camps.

157.2 Wilsons Peace terms: President Wilson's Fourteen Points, used as the basis for peace negotiations between Allied and Central Powers. He gave his Fourteen Points address to a joint session of Congress on January 8, 1918.

- 157.21 Was informed . . . Smith: During the meeting with Major Smith, Gaeddert was questioned about the treatment of Abraham Loewen. On December 26, Loewen had refused to work at a warehouse when ordered; he was force to stand in the cold and denied his evening meal. At the day's end, Loewen could not walk and needed assistance back into the barrack.
- 163.24 Rev & Prof. Hiebert: Peter C. Hiebert, professor at Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas, and a prominent leader among Mennonite Brethren.
- 164.12 Were transferred: Gaeddert's detachment was transferred to a detainment area about one mile from Camp Funston, on the Kaw River banks.
- 165.3 ruling: President Wilson's executive order defining noncombatant service as duty in the medical, quartermaster, or engineering corps.
- 168.16 once more tried: Gaeddert does not here mean tried in the sense of court-martial; rather, military officials tried to make the thirty conscientious objectors take work. Only one of the thirty followed orders and performed the chores demanded him.
- 169.15-18 In the after-noon . . . change mind: This encounter with Judge Advocate Packer apparently troubled Gaeddert. In a letter to Krehbiel the following day, Gaeddert wrote about Packer's reading of Wilson's March 18 executive order. According to Gaeddert, Packer "had a peculiar way of interpreting it [the order], which did not harmonize with the interpretation given to us by our Lieut. Hickerson . . . What shall we think of this, shall we take it as a bluff or what about it? I wish I could get a interpretation of it which is authority and reliable. According to his remarks then we will see hard times yet" (12 April 1918). Later, Gaeddert reported to Krehbiel that "we have not been mistreated at all yet, that is, of what that Colonel Packer spoke of. Therefor it most likely was only a bluff which I really thot it was and still I could not see how a man of authority like he would speak words without it being carried out" (April 1918).

- 170.16-17 Some of . . . signed it: At this point, objectors who filled out farm furlough applications were denied admission to the program; according to Gaeddert, the government's reasoning was that those furloughed must "have received sufficient training so that when he is called back he can be sent to the fire directly, that is, he must have received the six months training of which we have had nothing" (letter to Krehbiel, April 1918).
- 171.17 Legislature of 1909: As a Republican, Krehbiel had served in the 1909 Kansas state legislature.
- 172.26-27 John M. Horsh . . . the camp: Horsch, John. *Menno Simons, His Life, Labors, and Teachings*. Self-published by John Horsch; printed by the Mennonite Publishing House in Scottdale, PA.
- 174.1 Mamma took it hard: Gaeddert no doubt had told his mother of his decision to apply for reconstruction work in France. In a letter to Krehbiel shortly thereafter outlining his desire to join the American Friends overseas, Gaeddert said "My mother will take it somewhat hard, for that reason I would much rather stay here but I have told her and with it consoled her a little, that the danger zone is here in U.S. as well as over there, because of the mob spirit here, and that God can protect me there as well as here" (19 June 1918).
- 174.8 ruling: Probably the order issued by the War Department on June 1, 1918, establishing a Board of Inquiry. This ruling stated that the Board of Inquiry would determine the sincerity of objectors who would not accept noncombatant work and who were not facing courts-martial; the Board would then make recommendations for farm furloughs or for work in the American Friends Service Committee. According to Gaeddert, objectors in his camp believed the ruling "very considerate" and felt they would now be allowed to "do our part" (letter to Krehbiel, 05 June 1918).

- 174.12 Rumors . . . a transfer: Gaeddert had heard the objectors would be transferred to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, to appear before the Board of Inquiry. Instead, they were transferred again to a detention camp at Funston, where they were put under new non-commissioned officers who, Gaeddert wrote Krehbiel, developed different methods of provocation though "always within the limits of reason taking everything in consideration" (19 June 1918).
- 177.16-17 Major Stoddard Stone and []: Members of the Board of Inquiry, Major Richard C. Stoddard; Harlan F. Stone, Dean of Columbia Law School; Judge Julian W. Mack.
- 177.20 Class 4: One of twelve classifications available the Board of Inquiry; Class 4 objectors were recommended to be sent to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, for further examination.
- 177.21-23 We were . . . unhuman: Noah Leatherman's published *Diary* recounts this experience in some detail. He explains that the entire camp was lined up in the drill grounds; commanding officers read the charges leveled against the three African-American soldiers (for raping a 17-year-old girl), as well as the court-martial decision of execution. Leatherman writes: "Many thousands of Negro soldiers were required to witness the execution but all were unarmed while the white soldiers and officers were armed with revolvers and rifles. Shortly before the time of execution the three men were brought out, heavily guarded and chained together. They were marched to the scaffold, placed in position and given several minutes during which time they appealed to God for mercy. Several of the Negro soldiers (relatives, we were told) went into hysterics and were taken away to preserve order. At the appointed time the trap was sprung causing instant death . . . We were among the first to leave the ground. It was a very sad affair and seemed to have been the purpose of the authorities to implant

a deep fear of court martial as a rigid discipline for disobedience" (26). The hanging seemed seared into the memories of objectors who witnessed it; both Leatherman and Ura Hostetler recalled the event years later when they were interviewed about their Great War experiences.

177.26-27 Our first . . . the C.O.s: One of many Army chaplains brought in to convert the conscientious objectors, he apparently left the Sunday service in disgust, telling the objectors "you are a bunch of skunks!"

178.12 Rec. Boys . . . for Phil: Those objectors accepted into the American Friends reconstruction program received training in Philadelphia before being dispatched overseas.

CHAPTER THREE

URA HOSTETLER'S LONELY WITNESS

Had Ura Hostetler lived in some other part of the United States during the Great War, he might never have seen a military camp; he might never have been forced to decide between being a soldier, beloved by the American people, and being an objector, accused of slackerism by his fellow countrymen. Elsewhere, generous local draft boards had been gracious to married men, granting them dependency exemptions so they could remain at home, caring for their wives and families. But Hostetler lived in Harper County, Kansas. There, the draft board was far less lenient with married folk; thus, they deemed Hostetler fit to fight and decided that his wife, Della, could subsist without his financial aide. A dependency exemption could still be had if Hostetler got his wife pregnant, he was told by a doctor in the community who offered to help Hostetler earn an exemption should Hostetler quickly succeed in becoming a wartime progenitor. That, however, seemed to the young couple much too risky an endeavor to avoid conscription. And so Hostetler, married only seven months when commanded to report for duty in May, 1918, left his "darling sweetheart" with his parents and siblings, then journeyed from Harper to Camp Funston, Kansas, miles and miles away from his new bride.

At Camp Funston, Hostetler's longing for his wife was acute. Barracked initially with regular conscripts and then placed alone in a guard house cell, Hostetler's isolation only intensified his loneliness. He missed the woman with whom he had lived for a short while, and believed that leaving her and his family for the military camp was "the hardest thing I ever had been forced to do." Better, he wrote, that Della "go to her grave as to leave her by herself in this cold and cruel world. Then I would of known she was free from all grief and sorrow" (207). Without passes home to see his wife, his sole solace was the mail which came irregularly; her letters, though a comforting voice from far away, only made him tearfully "blue." Yet despite the aching loneliness he felt, a pain to which he admits over and over in his diary, Hostetler believed as well that his presence at Camp Funston, and the presence of his objector brethren, had holy

purpose: that they were to do God's work in the military cantonment, carrying God's "message of love to a few hungry souls" (214).

Hostetler's Great War internment was relatively short, especially given the fate of those objectors who were detained from the draft's beginning until long after the war's conclusion. He remained in camp a mere three months, then was furloughed to an Iowa farm for another five. The diary Hostetler kept covers only his time at Camp Funston and Camp Dodge, Iowa, and so is in itself a rather brief document. Nonetheless, Hostetler's manuscript is compelling, as it so clearly expresses experiences common to many Mennonite young men during the Great War. We can trace in Hostetler's words the isolation from home community he and others felt, as well as his sense of alienation from the military world he was forced to enter; we can also recognize in the diary Hostetler's conviction that his was a holy mission, and that he was sent to witness peace to others--a conviction shared by many of his brethren. Finally, Hostetler's diary shows the remarkable encroachment of military language into the writing of a rural Mennonite pacifist, suggesting the power one discourse community can have over another, even if that community's ideals still do not permeate the other. However brief his diary and detainment, then, Hostetler provides testament to the World War I life of the lonely witness transformed by his military experiences, a life and a transformation shared by other conscientious objectors.

In many ways, Hostetler's family history was prototypical of believers from the American Old Mennonite Church. By the twentieth century, his ancestors had long been American citizens, having immigrated from Switzerland and the Palatine in 1738 aboard the *Charming Nancy*. His first forebear on American soil, Jacob Hochstetler, was Old Order Amish; he settled in the southern Pennsylvania area among others of his kind to begin a new life, cleared the land of its heavy timber, and began the difficult work of being a frontier American farmer. Jacob Hochstetler had himself faced the hard decision of supporting or objecting to warfare in 1756 when, during the French and Indian War, Native Americans attacked his home. Although he and his sons could have quashed the intruders, and although his sons begged their father to let them shoulder their hunting rifles against the Native Americans, Hochstetler refused to fight

back. As a result of his unwillingness to fight evil with evil, his house was burned, his son and daughter tomahawked and scalped, and his wife stabbed with a butcher knife; Hostetler and two of his sons endured years of captivity by the Native Americans (*Descendants* 25). Nearly two centuries later, Ura Hostetler would be compelled to make a similar decision, to violently resist violence or to reject warfare. Though the costs of Hostetler's decision was certainly less than that of his ancestor, the choice to remain nonresistant was still the same.

Hostetler's own parents, Henry and Salome (Slabach) met and married in McPherson County, Kansas, in 1888. Ura Hostetler was the third of their fourteen children, born in 1893. Like many Old Mennonites, Hostetler's parents did not vote and did not take part in politics; like many, their family's long tenure in America made them competent English speakers, although they also spoke Pennsylvania Dutch, a common Mennonite German dialect, in their home. At age 13, Hostetler became a baptized member of the West Liberty Mennonite Church located near Inman, Kansas. He remained an active member of the Old Mennonite Church sect until his death, though he joined the Pleasant Valley Mennonite Church in Harper, Kansas, several years after his baptism, when his parents moved all their possessions and their then-eleven children to Harper. Ura Hostetler would reside in and around Harper the rest of his life. Following their move, Hostetler finished his education, graduating from the eighth grade at the Pleasant Valley School. By that time he was 18 years old, typical of Mennonite farm boys whose strength was needed more on the farm than their heads were needed in the classroom. On the many days Hostetler was not in school, he was yet receiving an education from his father, learning how to farm the southern Kansas land, to raise livestock, and to construct buildings. By 1914, Hostetler was helping his father build concrete silos in Harper County, a business which gave him a comfortable subsistence, a motorcycle, a Model T Ford, and enough money to convince Della Balmer to marry him; during their courtship, Della had said she would accept his proposal when he had saved \$1000.

The couple married on Sunday, November 11, 1917, at the Balmer homestead. Their official but secretive engagement was a mere two weeks long, although Hostetler and Balmer had

known each other for some time and had been courting for four years. Hostetler's parents discovered there was to be a wedding only several hours before it occurred, having been informed of the couple's plans that Sunday morning before church. Other guests were invited to the Balmer house "for dinner," and were surprised by that day's entertainment when they arrived. The Hostetlers' honeymoon was spent at Della's house, where they were shivareed by youth from their church. The couple lived with the Balmer family until January, when they purchased a home in Harper and settled in for their life together.

Several months later, Hostetler was called to war. He received notice to report for duty on May 26, 1918, only three weeks after his younger sister, Gladys, had died of typhoid fever in a Colorado hospital--the death itself being a shock to the family. In Anthony, Kansas, he joined a train car load of Harper County men traveling to Funston, though few of these were conscientious objectors. During the train ride, Hostetler conversed with a recently baptized Mennonite from Crystal, Kansas, about whether to take noncombatant work or not. Hostetler's friend decided he would probably assume noncombatancy, as he was a smoker and needed his cigarettes; the man was convinced smoking would not be allowed in conscientious objector detachments. On the way to Camp Funston, the train stopped in Wichita for several hours, and the men were allowed to disembark and tour the city. When the soldiers returned to their train at 9:00 p.m., Hostetler remembered, they were "pretty tight," having spent their layover celebrating in local saloons. While waiting to reboard the train, the soldiers "began to sing and carry on . I was pretty ashamed to have to be in that crowd" (interview). Later, as the train cut through the Kansas night towards Camp Funston, a drunken soldier careened through the cars, waking everyone up by shouting that he was looking for a collar button and then, that he was seeking someone who obviously was not on the train. "He was so stewed," Hostetler said in a 1968 interview, "he didn't hardly know what he was doing." For Hostetler, a small town Mennonite who only socialized at church functions and community gatherings, this was all quite new, a bit amusing, and certainly frightening. Such was his introduction to the military.

Once at Camp Funston, Hostetler was initially barracked with regular conscripts because of a two week quarantine imposed on the camp. Those first days were particularly difficult for Hostetler, who missed his wife and family and who also did not get along well with the other soldiers. The regular conscripts resented him, Hostetler believed, because he did not have to drill or stand inspection. Instead, he spent his time working at the Y.M.C.A., staying at his bunk studying the Bible, and visiting with the few other conscientious objectors who, in the evenings, came by his barrack to see him. The soldiers manifest their distaste for Hostetler by verbal taunts and by stealing his clothes, making him don the uniform he refused to wear, and taking pictures of him in the puttees and military shoes they crammed on his feet. Officers did their own part to harass Hostetler, cornering him alone and cajoling him into dropping his conscientious objection and taking up noncombatant or even combatant work. The only thing that checked their abuses, Hostetler wrote in his diary, was fear; soldiers and officers were afraid of facing military discipline, should their mistreatment go too far. Although his diary might suggest otherwise, years later Hostetler remembered that even if some of his fellow objectors were physically and psychologically punished, he received little abuse. Or rather, the mistreatment "didn't hurt me" as much as those who were more weakly constituted and could not bear the brunt of soldiers' taunts and officers' cursings (interview).

Finally, on June 11, 1918, Hostetler was brought before the company captain, who "talked to me and then cursed me and everything else" in hopes of persuading Hostetler to renounce his conscientious objection (interview). Again, Hostetler refused to accept any type of military duty. He was then removed from his barrack and confined to a cell in the cantonment's stockade, presumably to protect him from the wrath of regular soldiers. Sitting in a solitary cell did little to quell his loneliness, as there was not much to do in the guard house and he was only one of two conscientious objectors interned there. Hostetler said that, in the guard house, "You sit there and wait, mostly" (interview). He was observed constantly by armed soldiers who marched the confined men to the mess hall and followed them to the latrine. Those keeping watch, Hostetler remembered, were not wholly adept in wielding their weapons. One soldier,

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while unloading his gun in the guard house, slipped and shot a hole through the floor. "They sure think a lot of a fellow in here that they send a fellow along with a gun to protect you," Hostetler wrote in his diary with a touch of irony (210).

After nearly two weeks in the guard house, Hostetler was transferred to the conscientious objector detachment, a camp of tents located almost one mile from Camp Funston on the Kaw River banks. In his diary Hostetler expresses a small sense of elation in this move from the guard house to his new company: after being confined to a small cell, he was finally receiving some physical exercise, finally breathing the fresh air of nature, finally having a "spiritual feast" amidst his brethren. While here, Hostetler did little work beyond helping to build a shelter under which the objectors could eat, and then cooking in the kitchen when his turn came. His diary during this time marks the transfer in and out of other objectors, notes who accepted noncombatant work and who refused, and affirms Hostetler's belief that "God has us here for a purpose, we are just gathering up oil for future use" (210). Despite such conviction, Hostetler also felt the loneliness and idleness which plagued most objectors, confined to their detachment zone and relatively bored by the inactivity. The long June days were hard to fill, although the men spent hours on forced hikes in the hills surrounding Camp Funston and on singing and studying the Bible. Still, there was plenty of time for Hostetler to idle away thinking of home and of his "dear wife" Della.

On July 2, 1918, Hostetler joined the approximately 175 conscientious objectors at Camp Funston in a sojourn to Camp Dodge, Iowa, where they were to appear before the Board of Inquiry. They arrived by train at Camp Dodge on July 3, and by then, Hostetler had already formed the impression that officers at Dodge were more "hard boiled . . . worse than they were at Funston" (213). Hostetler received his hearing before the Board on July 4. In his 1968 interview, Hostetler remembered that his time with the Board was "easier than some"; appearing with fourteen other objectors, he was only asked to what church he belonged "and a few things like that." Other objectors were not so easily handled, Hostetler recalled, as members of the board accused them of "going after women and everything else," thereby questioning the depths

of their religious convictions (interview). The strength of Hostetler's faith, however, was not scrutinized, as he was long a documented member of the Old Mennonite Church; he was classified as 1-A, qualifying him for a farm furlough.

Though now ready and willing to work through the farm furlough program, Hostetler remained at Camp Dodge for nearly two more months. Letters from his wife were welcome but irregular during this time, in part because of an illness which seemingly lingered with her through July and August, in part because the move from Funston to Dodge disrupted the flow of mail to objectors. Hostetler oscillated between feeling "wore out and blue" and enjoying the company of the men with whom he forged fast friendships. His diary clearly expresses the tight brotherhood formed with fellow objectors; the departure of objectors for Fort Leavenworth and imprisonment or for re-examination by the Board of Inquiry was especially difficult for Hostetler and the others left behind. Wrote Hostetler on July 20, 1918:

Last eve. 9:30 14 of our No. were taken from us. Had a meeting before they left. The Lord really blessed me seemed like his spirit was there. Sure gave us inward pain to part with the brethern, not because we are afraid of them falling but because we love them. Tears started to come to my eyes as I bid some good by and Gods blessings. (216)

Those still awaiting their fates at Camp Dodge continued to worship together, studying the Bible and singing, Hostetler assured even more at these moments that "we must work more for [God] we must do it now" (219). Although Mennonite ministers rarely visited them at Dodge, according to Hostetler, the number of other ministers brought into the camp by the military increased; on one occasion, an army chaplain sermonized that the objectors needed to be patriotic by accepting service, but "he got all wound up and finally he just walked off he got so worked up" (interview). No matter how much Hostetler believed being in the military was part of God's plan, no matter how uplifting the nightly prayer meetings, the summer must have appeared interminable. Military officers at Camp Dodge apparently made the summer only longer, their "hard boiled" orders aggravating objectors weary of abuse and idleness.

At last, in late August 1918, Hostetler was granted a farm furlough. On August 29, Hostetler arrived at a farm outside Mason City, Iowa, where he would spend the next five months toiling for a local farmer whose own son was fighting in Europe. Several other objectors were also furloughed to Mason City, although none with Hostetler. He appreciated the work itself, the chores similar to those he had performed on his father's farm for years: cutting weeds with a scythe, threshing wheat, filling silos. In his 1968 interview Hostetler recalled that he had a "good farmer to work for" but living conditions on the farm were less than desirable. The house was disorderly, the farm was chaotic, and the food was downright bad. The farmer's wife "was kind of stingy I guess and she didn't cook too good. I said this man had it made. I think he ate some in town is what I think he did. Because he delivered milk every day. And so, he had a chance" to get away from his wife's cooking, while Hostetler was stuck on the farm trying to choke the food down (interview). At any rate, Hostetler's farm furlough provided one sure blessing: Della was able to live with him on the farm for a month, until the Armistice. Then, since "she didn't like it [living on the farm] and she didn't have to put up with it," she went home, assuming that her husband would soon follow (interview). The farmer however refused to release Hostetler until his own son returned from the army, over two months after the war had ended.

By the time Hostetler was released, the government had decided objectors could only be discharged from a camp within 350 miles of their home communities. And so, after Christmas 1918, Hostetler returned to Camp Dodge and then to Camp Funston to await the shuffle of army papers and his impending discharge. The objectors had been idle and anxious for home before, but now the three week wait was excruciating. There was even less to do, no drilling, no orders, no demands to take up work and help the American cause. "We just sat around," Hostetler said. "That's all there was to do . . . It was three weeks sitting up here, the longest three weeks you ever seen" (interview). Finally, on January 29, nearly three months after the Armistice, Hostetler received his discharge. He could at last resume life with his new bride, his tour of military duty forever behind him.

Hostetler returned to Harper and to a farm several miles outside of town, the first of three he would cultivate in his post-war lifetime. There, he and his wife began a family, six children in all. He took up again his work as a successful farmer, seeing his family through the depression and beyond with funds raised from the livestock and wheat he produced. Virtually a self-educated man, Hostetler began a reading program and, in the midst of farming, would read several hours a day; the most-oft perused text was, of course, his Bible, and he became well-versed in its contents. The Pleasant Valley Church persisted as his faith community and, as the consummate handyman, he took an active part in its building maintenance. After he retired from a lifetime of farming, he continued to help build a new church edifice, providing volunteer labor construction until the church was completed. This was his life, founded on pillars shared by many Mennonites: faith, family, and farming.

Although Hostetler was far too old to face conscription when World War Two came, his family was not untouched by Franklin Delano Roosevelt's wartime demand for America's men. His oldest son, Lester, was ordered to register for the draft nearly 25 years after Hostetler had stood before a Harper County draft board and expressed his own conscientious objection to the war. Hostetler remembered speaking with a member of the draft board at that time, wondering how he could help alleviate his son's concerns about the draft. According to Hostetler, the board member responded by saying "I'm not going to give you any allowances, I'm going to swing the stiff way as I can." Frustrated by the man's perceived lack of decency, Hostetler told him: "well, I'm glad for one thing, the United States government isn't the one who is going to have the last say" (interview). The final indictment would be left to God. As it turns out Lester, like many Mennonite young men at the time, was drafted, but did four years of alternative duty with the Civilian Public Service in Colorado. Ever the Christian believer, though, Hostetler was assured that God would favorably judge those who stood firm in their nonresistant convictions.

Such blessed assurance becomes a significant feature of Hostetler's Great War diary. Throughout, Hostetler reminds himself to remain thankful for the generous providence of God, which gives him friends and fellowship and "good grub." It is this same benevolent God who has

brought objectors to Camp Funston "for a purpose." The objectors' time in camp is, to be sure, an opportunity to "draw closer to [God] . . . espicialy because of the persecution some of us have to go thru" (213); the belief that distress precipitates a closer relationship with God would certainly be foremost in the mind of a Mennonite whose own church history is steeped in persecution and the notion of suffering love. More significantly, though, the Mennonite objectors' presence in military camps seemingly provides, in Hostetler's thinking, the perfect chance to be peaceful witnesses amidst men who "practice killing devices" (207). The camp becomes a mission field which he is to "harvest," by refusing any form of military service, by remaining true to his nonresistant convictions, and by passing that nonresistance on to soldiers and officers, if only by including that which "will do the [censors] good" in the letters he writes home (211). As a "soldier of the cross," his is a cause he "would dare die for" (214). The torments of a "hard boiled coroporal," the hopelessly futile orders, the boredom and idleness matter little, for he is in camp to do God's "bidding," whatever that may be.

This conviction would remain with Hostetler throughout his lifetime. In later years Hostetler believed his World War I witness--and that of other objectors--had been to some extent successful. Certainly they had not convinced everyone to embrace nonresistance, Hostetler realized; even after the war to make the world safe for democracy, the United States still engaged in battle, in Europe and then in Asia--"the worse mess that our country has ever been in in more ways than one" (interview). Nonetheless, he thought the experiences of Great War objectors like himself brought far-reaching changes to America. In Hostetler's mind, the Civilian Public Service of World War II, war relief, the Mennonite Central Committee, the I-W alternative service during Vietnam, even the Peace Corps--all these institutions were a direct "outgrowth" of the struggle and persecution endured by Great War objectors, and all had made significant transformations in a war-torn twentieth century.

Perhaps more significantly, Hostetler was certain that Mennonites and other pacific Christians from World War I had contributed to the livelihood of America by securing her prosperity as a Christian nation. Military men who had appealed to the objectors' patriotism

argued that the objectors were receiving all the benefits of the soldiers' sacrifice for freedom but paying none of the costs; Hostetler reasoned that those who fought "were getting all the benefits Christianity provides in the country" but offering little in return: "You see, they're protecting us physically and say we are not contributing. What about a country that didn't have any Christianity?" (interview). Only the objectors' Christian witness could sustain the light of Christianity in a darkened country, a light which Hostetler felt assured provided more comfort and security than could any militaristic conflict. In this way, he thought Great War objectors were making the world safe from evil too, their peaceful witness even more necessary, really, than the soldiers' bloody mission.

Yet even as Hostetler sought to enact a peaceful change in his war-torn world, so too was he inevitably transformed by his time in a military cantonment supporting the ethos of war's necessity. While at Camp Funston and Camp Dodge, Hostetler certainly retained the ideals of Mennonitism and of nonresistance. These were inviolate and he would not forsake them, even if many other Mennonites did. Still, as we read Hostetler's diary, we might sense barely perceptible changes in the ways he views his experience as an objector and even more, in the language he uses to describe that experience. With time, his complaints about his military company become not so much the laments of a conscientious objector mistreated at the hands of angry officers; instead, they seem the plaintive moans of any soldier: he protests that the mess is bad, that it makes the stomach hurt, that the food "would of been allright if it hadn't been for the dog," a joke shared with others in his company (216). Military lingo and acronyms also begin to infiltrate the text: he writes of "good grub," being on "K.P" and having "mess detail," his C.O. and the people who join his Co., even the "policing" of a barn he does while on farm furlough. At one point late in the text, Hostetler provides a definition of military camp jargon: "'Where do you get that stuff' is a common expression used here when ever some body does something that he shouldn't" (220). The language Hostetler uses, although seemingly a minor feature in a text rich with detail about his confinement, yet suggests the military has some power--if only linguistic--over the objectors it detained. In the least, Hostetler's diary arguably shows the force with which the discourse of

one community can penetrate another, even as its ideas do not. Undoubtedly, when Hostetler returned to Harper and to his Mennonite fellowship, words like "mess," "detail," and "policing" no longer had capital; the discourse of the Mennonite community once again had the fore, and the military language he picked up at Funston was just as quickly dropped. We can only surmise that Hostetler was not fully conscious of the military language he at times used to figure his experience, just as we may never wholly notice new words we assume from a variety of cultural lexicons. His lack of self-awareness, however, merely makes his utilization of military jargon all the more compelling.

Keeping a diary during the Great War was not a novel practice for Hostetler; he had chronicled the entire year of 1914 in similar fashion. After the war, Hostetler continued to write, sometimes returning to the diarist's art, sometimes writing down family history and memorable life stories, on one occasion documenting the Pleasant Valley Mennonite Church's past. Yet it is his World War I diary which remains his most significant work, even if he did not realize its importance when, during the summer of 1918, he penned his despair and loneliness and proclaimed his everlasting faith in a peaceful God. At the same time, it is clear Hostetler wanted this to be a narrative solely about the Great War. His first entry begins with his arrival at Camp Funston and the last entry ends with his initial night outside the army, furloughed to an Iowa farm. He was an irregular diarist, and days might pass between the entries he wrote. His entries are nonetheless laden with details about his experience, and even more, about his emotional reaction to the experience. This is his personal Great War history, unencumbered by the story of his life both before and after conscription, weighted by the story of his life and perceptions while in camp.

The original diary manuscript is now in the possession of Hostetler's oldest daughter, Thelma Kauffman, who still lives in Harper County, Kansas. No other versions of Hostetler's diary exist or were published, although a copy remains available for public perusal at the Mennonite Library and Archives in North Newton, Kansas. Kauffman had given the library a copy of her father's diary many years ago. Apparently a consummate raconteur, Hostetler had

long entertained his family with stories about his Great War journey. His daughter believed Hostetler's narrative about life at Camp Funston and Camp Dodge, told through his diary, deserved a wider audience than those closest to him, who already knew the depths of his nonresistant faith and of his love for Della, his "dear girl."

Hostetler died of respiratory disease in 1981. He was 87, and had already been without Della for fourteen years; she had succumbed to heart failure in 1968. Both are interred in a Harper, Kansas, cemetery, near the Pleasant Valley Mennonite Church: the church Hostetler helped build, the church where the couple courted, the church where they raised their family. Such was the small but powerful radius of Hostetler's life, informed always by the Mennonite Church and its beliefs, by his wife and by his family, and by the rich farm land he cultivated in Harper County. The Great War, and his military experience as a conscientious objector, had certainly drawn him outside this circumference, transforming him through exposure to a world he had never known. As his World War One diary shows, he desperately longed for the peaceful security of smaller boundaries, of wife and family, church and harvest. However, Hostetler's text reveals as well his conviction that he served a higher purpose, and that the God who called him away from Della to the military camp would be the same God who carried him safely home.

The Diary of Ura Hostetler

Matt. 5: 39-40

52

? John 18-36 ?

Rom 12:17-21

II Cor. 10:14

(H OM, Eli Durkenson, Superior IA)

Odebolt IA

c/o Adams & CO

Grant Milford Nebr.

Box 114 [2]

This book belongs to Ura Hostetler

Harper, Kans. R.1.

If lost and someone finds me return to owner and receive reward. [4]

conscientisus

William F. Leitsal

45 Co. 164 Depot Brigade,

Camp Funston, Kans.

7th Co.

164 D.B.

Detention Camp No. 1

58th Co.

Prov. Det. (Con. Obj.)

163 Depot Brigade

Camp Dodge, Iowa [6]

[1918]

On May 26th 1918, I had to report for military duty, at Authority Kans. 1:30 p.m. This was the hardest thing I ever had been forced to do. To leave my home folks and a darling sweetheart wife. I would just as soon have seen her go to her grave as to leave her by herself in this cold and cruel world. Then I would of known she was free from all grief and sorrow.

Arrived at Camp Funston May the 27th at noon, it was almost impossible not to wear the uniform but thru Jesus our Lord I got thru, only after [7] having the uniform forced onto me, for several hrs. They put overalls into my sack and uniform on me but I changed when I got a chance, put overall and jumper on and uniform into sack. Why does God allow such man killing devices to be carried on and practiced as they do here?

May 28. when I reported for duty without a hat I was ordered up stairs again. (Thank God) Have nothing to do, but write and study Gods word and talk with him.

May 29. Wed. Sure had a time today about 200 [8] came and talked to me and tried to persuade me into it, some are real reasonable Commander done so too. This morn boys made sport of me, glad they enjoy it, put my leggings and shoes on, stood me up and took my picture. I sure would like to have one.

Received our first inoculations today. Glory to God some of us concientious brethern came to see me this eve, done me lots of good.

May 30. decoration day today. everyone is taking it easy not even bothering me. [9] Got orders to go up to the Y.M.C.A. & work till I get out of here, not so much to do, only sweep and clean up a little.

Lot of men are sick over their shots last night. Some fell over in retreat tonight. Got carried in.

Still no mail from home.

May 31. Still loafing at Y. Hurrah. I got a letter from home today sure seems good. Was just wondering why I didn't hear, when sure it came.

June 1. Got a new boss at Y. don't like him so well, he thinks I his nigger. [10]

Was pretty tired and blue today [. . .] almost had to cry just wanted one bit of home.

John came over this P.M. I would of tried to get my half holiday today but I didn't. Try next Sat. God is sending us such a pleasant eve.

June 2. Sunday. Went up to Y. and picked up paper took about an hr. Stayed for their services, had some good things.

Was lonesome in P.M. Had no where to lay my head. Ben N. & Shrock came over after supper had a real pleasant eve. [11]

June 3. Monday. Am cleaning again today kinda had the blues, but thank God for brighter future hopes. The boys took their first hike out on hill, they all layed down to rest too at noon Hr.

June 4. Sergeant tried to give me another job also to scare me about going to Leavenworth. Had sort of a mental ex. today.

Got my work about all done till noon, so I just [. . .] in P.M. Wished for \$10 to buy Della music box. I just got so lonesome this eve I didn't know [12] where to go or what to do haven't seen any of the boys since Sun. I spent another quarter for ice cream, I just had to do something to cheer me a little bit.

June 6. Thur. Well I bought Dell her box, won't she be overwhelmed with joy. No mail from home wonder what can be the matter? I am beginning to get suspicious about the boys having gone to Fort Leavenworth cause they haven't showed up since Sun. Got bawled out this morn. for scraping my shoe on floor, had to sweep [13] stairs and hall thanklessly, just like all my work. Della won't you write anymore. dear me!

June 7. Friday. Well I received the dearest letter today, I wanted to cry so bad I couldn't hardly read it. I felt kinda sick from my vaxination.

Got another shot in arm this eve. 3 fellows went down just ahead of me when they got shot.

Am expecting to see daddy and Jim Hamilton tomorrow.

June 8. Saturday. My the fellows sure did some grunting and groaning, were sick from their shots, not affect me a great deal. [14]

I layed in bed and covered up before breakfast and a sergeant chased me up. They are getting stricter all the time. This is inspection day and some guys don't like it cause I don't have to stand inspection, whenever they have to do something they don't like and I don't do it, it eats on them. A few are real good to me.

June 9. Sunday. Cleaned up a little and got down to read and here come papa, almost surprised me. Brought a letter from my dear wife and some pictures. Heard a good testimony from a converted Jew. [15] Had a good visit for once.

Bill & John came over. They are still here, expect to be transferred Tue. After papa left I wrote my dear blessed wife a great big letter, I really feel that I have many things to be thankful for, the future looks brighter, yea I can even see beyond this life.

June 10. Monday. Things blue just a tint today but wore off again. Sure got some good general orders today, has our future pretty well laid out of course we are not to see them I guess. This eve. the boys got another [. . .] [17] was going to dress me up. They pulled off my clothes and started to put uniform on me but were afraid, one fellow called them down; not to talk so rough.

If they knew what the general orders were they would be afraid to touch me. Received another letter from my dear dear wife.

Before I went to bed I took my clothes of and sat down to read some of those dear letters and the boys swiped my clothes. I couldn't find them so I told the sergeant, he said if he had his way about it I'd go without [18] clothes, but boys this mans clothes will come back tonight, I know he's h--- to live with but he'll be taken care of sooner or later.

June 11. Tuesday. Done some cleaning up at the Y. didn't hurt myself as I stoped to write a letter. Went back P.M. A sergeant came after me had me before the Captain, had another chance to work refused. Then they brought me to the gaurd house. Not the worst place I have ever been in either.

They march us over to regular mess halls for meses. [19] Always get in first too.

June 13. Thursday. eve. the sergeant made a misscue and fired a shot into the floor.

They sure think a lot of a fellow in here that they send a fellow along with a gun to protect you.

Don't hardly get enough work to do for exercise. Gets kinda lonesome.

June 14. Friday. Received our 3rd shot today. Had strawberries for breakfast. Lot of other boys got overseas examinations but I didn't.

June 17. Monday. Well things are just about [20] as the same every day, I sure was a little homesick last eve. Feel better today. We are going to be transferred, Praise the Lord. Tonight we move. I think we'll get to other objectors. Had some pretty good talks with Mr. Phrasher since I'm in here.

June 20. Well got on a transfer at last. Had to walk about half way down then rode in an ambulance the rest of way. Phrasher signed up for non-combatant work. Was lucky enough to get in a tent with John H. [21]

June 23. Sun. Well I feel kind sad for I know my dear wife is heart broken because I did not get to come home. May the Lord bless and comfort her.

June 27. Well there are lots of things happening now days, went on 3 hikes already. Went over the hills twice once about 4 mi. back. It sure is good to get out to see nature. Paul Zook, Amos Showalter and 8 others came in here the other night all signed up but 2 I'm sorry to see [22] them give in so easy. One went back on his signature yesterday morn. Thank God. A few more came in last eve. About 40 more are coming today, a bunch of us moved 4 tents over here for them. They were to be here for supper last eve. but didn't get here so we sure had some supper. Had all we wanted and then some. But best of all we had a spiritual feast. Had an open air meeting. A devotional meeting. Sure like to hear [23] the prayers and testimonies. We learn so many good things—have meetings every eve. about 2 hrs. God has us here for a purpose, we are just gathering up oil for future use. When the bridegroom cometh may we have our vessels and lamp all filled. Some times I think we idle away to much time don't study and pray enough every time we get tried we get drawn closer to Him.

My prayer is that all of God's children [24] may be drawn closer to him, and espicialy because of the persecution some of us have to go thru.

Am glad for the privilege of being here, I feel as though I was getting rich, not with money, but with unperishable treasures.

Yesterday Capt. Kintz put up an order to read all our letters before they go out, it is just one of his own orders, but I think we should write just such things that will [25] do them good.

June 28. Well received a dear old letter from my good old wife. We aren't allowed to write anything about military affairs (so here goes) in letters.

9 Hutterites came in last night, some got treated pretty mean, one got his hair cut, one almost got drown under faucet. Holcroft came in yesterday. 6 or seven came in in P.M. Some are C.O anyway. Some have worse time than I did. Holcroft said they stood him up and pointed gun at him said say your last [26] Mennonite prayer tried to make believe they were going to shoot him just for their own sport. When I see him in meeting makes me think of the parable in Luke 7:41-49. Also Downs. The officers Don't want us to critize them in our letters but here I can.

Our censorer is sure a nice leutenant, awful nice about talking to us. Makes better feelings that way: Read the letters then forget them and I believe he will. I have no objections about it. Lucena (not spelled right) [27] is an awful nice corporal.

June 28. morn. This morn sergeant King sure started to rattle off our names at roll call.

Roots & King get kinda hard backed at times. Had two Priv. or corporals to take us on a hike yesterday P.M. They took us over north of Funston to a spring, went thru part of Funston. Some of the boys got ivy poison. One boys right side of face is swelled up badly (eye shut). I got a lot of chiggers. Had the article of war read to us again this [28] morn. Were ordered up the hill and before we got up were ordered down again for another lecture or something which we are waiting for now. Got dismissed don't know what they wanted.

June 30. Sun. There are about 175 C.O.s. with the few NonCombatants. Last night 5 came in 2 took work. Ralph Troyer was in the bunch they made him take a cold bath, chew soap,

kicked him several times and slapped him with a 3 in board, while naked. 2 Horst boys came this [29] morn, four in bunch 2 took work, those that accept go into other zone, they get to come over here to eat. 3 of the boys this morn. didn't get any hats and Capt Kintz gave the sergeant that brought them down here a jawin for it too.

Am glad to see a few firm ones. Ralph Troyer wouldn't sign a thing except his clothes slip where he received clothes.

We sure had some rain last night these tents leaked like seines. Piled our stuff up and covered over with slickers. Pete Schrock didn't have [30] a slicker so he got under with me, the wind just beat it in. The floor was all wet by time it quit raining. Had a pretty good talk about education last night. Formal and real.

July 1. last eve had a good meeting. Job Becker sure gives some good testimonies. Said he felt shaky before he got up but the best way to do in that case is to get up and shake it off, or shake the devil off. Sounded funny, all laughed but was the most truth in it cause it came from the heart. [31]

Went on a hike this P.M. Were over on hill north of Funston got a good view of Funston.

Today 3 boys that had signed up for work, came back. They had been to Fort Riley, but refused to work as they had been deceived into it. Got some more Huttrites to night. They sure are all stickers. Thank the Lord. Have a move coming tomorrow, some report of going to Camp Dodge, don't know for sure yet where. Received some stationary from home today. [32]

July 2. Today we sure got to move. Had orders at 11:00 to be ready by 2:00. Loaded our baggage on four trucks all marched to Funston. There got on train for somewhere. Don't know where. Are on our way rejoicing now.

July 3. Well we arrived at Camp Dodge Iowa at about 9 oclock this morn. Had some time coming came thru K.C. Had guards along couldn't buy a thing. They chased every body away. Some tried to mail letters but didn't get by. I believe 2 did. Sure handled my baggage some rough. [33]

Had another time here had to line up got through another mill line operation to get assigned to our quarters. They waited outside of barracks for several hrs. to get baggage checked away. Sure was dirty. Didn't get done till marched us of to Y.M.C.A. to appear before the board, didn't only about have appear yet so far. Some of our orders are hard boiled by the time we get them, worse then they were at Funston. Pray that things will be all right by and by. We still are enjoying many blessings.

July 4. We were marched up to Y.M.C.A. to appear before board some sure had a hard time of it but I believe the Lord was with us. Some will be tried harder then some but may that just be the means of drawing them closer to God. Fourteen of us went in at once. Had 5 that they questioned hard four got put in Class 4 one in Class 2. Guess rest of us in Class 1A. Thank God that we may have the privilege for farm work. It was 1:30 till we got back for dinner only done a little bunk fatigue rest of day.

July 5. This morn. they marched every one in [35] camp out to witness the hanging of three negroes. They can lead a horse to water but can't make him drink, some didn't want to go because they refuse to drill, lieutenant said they didn't have to drill just going out for a walk. I and guess a lot knew where we were going as I heard about it last night. It is awful how hard some peoples hearts get. They had to carry out four negroes troops that watched and two more went into hysterics when fellows went up on platform. I wasn't going to see it [36] but just happened to glance a second when they started to drop. Took eyes off right away. Perhaps they had repented of their sins and went home to Jesus. That is my prayer. They were praying as they walked in. We were about 40 rds off from scaffold.

Every body stood in attention. The negro troops took it hardest. They all negroes removed their hats when the led the victims past. As for my self I would of rather been one of the victims than the man who released the lever. Dropped about 9:10 A.M. [37]

Today is the time to accept salvation. Why do so many put it off. Wish I could impress everyone to take the stand today as we don't know what a day may bring forth. Saw Jim Troyer yes. up at Y.M.C.A. Has been here about 2 wks. He still is drilling but expects soon to get to

truck driving, has had one trial or examination for it. They still press us as hard here as they possibly dare. They were going to make us drill but I don't believe now that they will. Salmon told our sergeant and lieutenant [38] yesterday that at Funston we demoted several officers just like you, (which they did,) and it kinda quited our officers down a little. Last night the sergeant made us put lights out at 9:00 Pretty soon corporal comes and wants to know who put the lights out. we told him he cused a little and says there are no such orders, turn them on lights don't go out till 9:45. Some just act as spiteful as they can but maybe we will get them broke in after while. Am afraid they take to many privileges, may get in bad for it too if they hold us to tight. They have lots of C.O.s here [39] and they keep them to close, can't get no information, therefore they just use them about as they please. Had 13 in guard house for 2 mo. already wont even let them have prayer meeting. Praise God they can't stop us from praying also we had a prayer meeting last night.

July 7. Sunday. eve. Well we sure have many things to thank God for. Chaplain of this Brigade held meeting here this morn at 8:30 We got some real good things from it. Had Sun. school at 10: I sure was touched today guess I have homesick some song Holy, Holy, and Moment by Moment sure made me think of days [40] gone by and those gone to that heavenly home. Wished I could get there myself so as to get away from this cruel old world, but God has a work here for me to do. behold the feilds they are ready for harvest and the laborers are few. Fit we few, ready creatures to do thy bidding here and may we be able to carry thy message of love to a few hungry souls before it is to late. Chaplain wants to make soldiers out of us. Thank God we are soldiers of the cross already and would dare to die for our cause.

I wrote Della a letter today had to stop writing for crying. It has been a week since [41] I heard anything from her. Yesterday the officers went thru all our reading matter took a lot of it to censor it. Took all German literature.

Had a real chicken dinner today for dinner I ought to get fat here as I feel pretty healthy, have fine weather plenty of sleep and eats.

July 10. Well we got our first mail yesterday. Then I didn't get a letter from wife, one from R.M. Weaver. Boys got a lot of packages. Also yes. went to an illustrated lecture on sexual hygiene. It sure was good showed different cuts of diseased organs etc. of health, homes and families and vice versa. [42] Hutterers didn't even stay in to take it all in.

They also took us out where the soldiers come together to learn some patriotic songs. Had some band music and saw negroes dance. I don't approve much of some of their songs. Some are all right. I worked on K.P. Mon. sure got all I wanted. to eat and work. This morn we went out here in front to take some physical exercise, sure does one good wish we would of taken them all along. Wished for a trapesse or over head ladder many a time. Boys play base ball, I like to watch [43] but believe I ought to to help as will do me good. I admire some of it when played in good humor, but not as rival teams as world mostly plays.

Well I done some singing this morn, sure had some tune but had songs from heart. Hutterers got some talking to yesterday. Got some new orders we have to bathe 3 times a wk. and report. It is a good order.

July 12. Received 3 letters from Della dear today. My poor dear girl has got the mumps.

July 16. Had to work on KP. again Sun. Missed all the meetings thru [44] day till eve got part of it. Had a good meeting last night. Yesterday crowded our bunks together and put about 40 more into our barrack. The bunch that was once in barrack east of us. Can talk to them now. Thank God for his faithful few.

July 18. Received a letter from Della today stating that her mumps are worse again. Sure hurts me to know that. Could not help but write her a rebuking letter, I love her and know she will respect me for it. My dear darling. May God bless her. [45]

Tomorrow 12 are going to be sent to Leavenworth for retrial.

They are getting stricter all the time got an order now that there will be no sitting on bunks between 7 and 12 A.M. In barracks by 9:45 P.M. and in bed by 10 p.m. Hutterers got a

good many talkings to already. They are awful hard at it trying to persuade us into work. Take us by bunches and of singly talk to us.

July 20. Last eve. 9:30 14 of our No. were taken [46] from us. Had a meeting before they left. The Lord really blessed me seemed like his spirit was there. Sure gave us inward pain to part with the brethern, not because we are afraid of them falling but because we love them. Tears started to come to my eyes as I bid some good by and Gods blessings. Some of those songs mean so much to me. Holcroft & I put arms around each other walked around in yard, sang some songs kinda to ourselves and talked about some blessed [47] experiences, while the boys were being lined up to leave. Our whole bunch seemed to be out watching. This is a song I would of liked to sing to them as they left, but didn't for various reasons. God will take care of you, Onward Christian soldiers marching as to war, with the cross of Jesus going on before. Many such blessed songs. Thank God for them. Wonder how Della dear is, haven't heard how she was since Tue. Hope and trust she is made well again by this time. God bless her. [48]

July 22. Monday. Well I feel very much to wore out and blue today. Can't read to do any good, Haven't heard from my dear wife since Thur. Almost every day someone gets or writes a letter that they get a bawling out for. Yesterday eve. we had a pretty good time working in K. P. Some of boys were afraid of our supper, spuds and chicken. Chicken must of been a long time on road. It would of been allright if it hadn't been for the dog, as one fellow said, made me laugh till my stomach nearly [49] busted, I worked on K.P. That's why it hurt my stomach. Also two Chaplains held meeting for the boys while some of us peeled spuds on out side One fellow talked so loud and fast one fellow said he's afraid he peters out. One fellow went to listen a little on out side of barrack, came back an asked if there was any religion there, he said there is in his language. Guess he was right any way it struck my funny bone and I had another stomach buster. Also one soldier in [50] another barrack heard the preaching, and yelled out shoot the other barrack too. They asked for conversions but didn't get any. Such a bunch of yellow backed heathens as we are thought to be.

July 23. This morn some civilian Anti Christ was here and talked to us something awful. May God show him the light before it is to late. He left off talking awful sudden and left after he had talked a long while. Claimed to be a minister of the Gospel?

July 24. Wed. Today 8 of us got to go after some clothes line posts and it sure was a [51] picnic for us, went out about 3/4 mi. Sat under a tree for about an hr. easy it was a treat, got two hickry posts and another kind don't know what kind I don' know half of trees here, is rolling all along and blue grass on ground sure fine works of God.

We sure had a laughing fit tonight. Hutters think it sin to laugh loud and Holcroft laughed till it sounded like it hurt him. I know it hurt me, my but how I had to laugh.

July 25. Well I got a letter from home and John Jim. Della the dear thing [52] thought I was on a move becuse she didn't hear so long from me. Didn't sent letter as she thought it would go to different address.

Worked in latrine today.

July 27. Yesterday I received such a sad letter from Della. She was oh so sad I did injustice to her Oh God forgive, then, Oliver gave her such a talking too that it just broke her dear little heart, May God bless and comfort her.

John H. sure is a roamer and reportes he knows all the latest all the time. Tonight he said [53] they are going to starve us, I always get plenty such as it is, but they cut down some on extras.

Am reading in old testment at present, some parts are sure interesting and good.

July 31. Well time is passing slow I get blue and homesick at times. Our eats have improved a little. CC Jenson said once to the cook when he had his slim mess this is just about enough to take to his quarters, he was going to raise a howl next meal if things [54] didn't fare better and sure enough have been getting better since that.

This morn. sergeants over slept I guess any way we didn't have any roll call.

They only gave us physical exercise once a day this week, guess they are getting like us tired and lazy cause they haven't anything to do.

August 2. Fri. eve. Am feeling rather blue and discouraged. Don't get any mail, none since Sun. Surely seems like they are holding it back. Can buy candy, now. boys' [55] sure are getting it anyway. They began to smuggle it in before so it isn't much diff.

Worked on K.P. again yesterday didn't have it so hard as I got in the dining hall, dried dishes. Sometimes get a few extra eats slipped out to us for helping our best friends peel spuds when they are on K.P. We had such a good lesson on giving the other night. I like the way the boys show an interest in the meetings couldn't hardly close as each one wanted to say something surely Gods spirit was there.

Had a good sermon [56] meeting last night Welcome Smith almost preached a sermon. Glad we have such good workers with us. Would to God that I would feel better, but seems like nothing can take the place of my loved one. Dear Girl.

August 6. This sure is one dusty day. I bought me a broken fountain to day but it writes anyway (\$1.) Yesterday we had such good meetings Had some good talks on character building then in afternoon Chaffen gave us a talk used as a subject disobedience. Used Saul for an example when he didn't kill all the Spoil. Sure had a touching [57] lesson. In eve studies a chap in Gala. Holcroft & I helped peel spuds till about 8:45 so we missed the singing & prayer. Tomorrow we are in for latrine police. He & I are sure some team hang together pretty good. The bunch of C.Os. that were in the gaurd house were taken out and put into our Co. Praise the Lord. There is lots of unjust things going on. Capt. Day got his orders Sat. to take them out. Bill L. was down there at the time, he received his money statement and got called up to give to Y.M.C.A. or Red Cross.

August 9. Been having some experiences, Have been breaking in a new corporal, sure [58] was hard boiled for a few days, but he got call over the carpet for it too. He was going to make the Hutters cut their hair, but didn't succeed. He took one over to the top sergeant but he wouldn't even consider the case, he said he was going to take him to the commanding officer but stoped when he came to sergeant. Also Capt Day got himself into deep water kept those C.Os. in gaurd house without any orders or cause. Am afraid he will have a hard row to hoe.

The gaurd house prisoners had to clean up for lice the other day, 50 prisoners and fifty gaurds to take [59] them to the latrine. Today they made two gaurd house fellows eat outside but, before they got thru eating they took them in guess leutenant got scared of his bars. Co. B. tried to keep us from using the latrine during drill hours, but they sure got sliped up on it.

August 13. Well at last, today we put in our applications for farm furloughs. The day is drawing nigh.

Our eating co. moved two blocks north and other barracks are all filled with negroes now. Are going to get our own kitchen about tomorrow, even if I'm on K.P. with Grant, Hollcroft, & 2 Horsts. [60]

Our hard boiled corporal gave us a play tonight composed of two actors, (Stahl and Himself)(Bacheran) Two scenes and three acts. Gave. Stahl a raking cause he didn't walk in rank coming from supper. Last act Stahl says, I'm not mad at you. (B) I don't care you will have to march in rank or I'll hire some of the boys to rape you. Hollcroft nearly bursted laughing again it sounded funny but realy how vulgar some mens minds are to always think of such stuff.

August 15. This morn we cleaned up a kitchen for ourselves are going to start tomorrow and do our own cooking. [61] Worked on K.P. again yesterday. Had a pretty good day of it. The cooks left after supper and depended on us to clean it up and every thing that way, guess they realize we are pretty good worker any way they make some such remarks sometimes. One cook was heard to say he could do more with half doz of us fellows than sergeant could with 25 of their detail.

August 15. Had such a splendid good Mass meeting tonight. Redeeming the Time. Guess cause we needed it is why it was so good. May God help us make better use of our time. [62]

August 16. This morn went on our first hike Had orders to take hikes every day. Guess they want to toughen us up for farm work. We also learned what you would be in the future you have to be now. if you expect to serve God later on and work more for him we must do it now also. Let your words be honest few and well chosen.

August 17. Had some rain tonight. while our meeting was on. Lightened & thundred poured down water. Lights went out something got wrong with it somewhere cause of electric storm. [63] Had a praise service then as the result of the darkness. Never stoped us any way. God can bless under all conditions. I had another spell of homesickness. I just wished so much for a little bit of love from dear Della.

August 19. This eve John Andrews got a furlough. three Mo. A farmer came right in to get him, lives about 30 mis out.

August 21. Every thing is all excitement about being furloughed nearly all the boys wrote to have some one to apply for them for a temporary furlough till Nov. 15. Hope I get one home as Della needs me so bad. had an earache Sun. O the dear girl has to suffer so. God grant I may soon see her. [64]

August 22. Today is a day long to be remembered. The top sergeant. (Nefener) went with us on our hike, he never gave us any orders let us march any old step we wanted too, and took us to the river and nearly every one went in swimming Sure had a picnic.

Enjoyed it very much. Are getting very good treatment at present and also extra good grub since we have our own mess.

"Where do you get that stuff" is a common expression use here when ever some body does something that he shouldn't. [65]

August 26. Sat. only twelve boys got furloughed looks like there is hope left, four today and maybe some more before night.

August 28. Today got a short farm furlough.

Char. Hollcroft, Grant Hochstetler, John Hamilton all got to go to Mason City Iowa. Arrived here on Aug. 29 3 A.M. Got us a bed, next day got located. My man got me before dinner. The first thing I had to do was pollice up the horse stable. Cut weeds first day. Went thrashing rest of eve. Beats Army life all allow.

Text

Ura Hostetler's original diary manuscript serves as the copy-text for this edition. No other forms of the diary exist or were published. A small red leather notebook in dimension about four inches by six, the diary was in actuality an address or ledger book, judging by the letter tabs which line the outside of its pages. The pages do not have pre-printed numbers, nor did Hostetler care to number the pages of his text. At first, Hostetler wrote in pencil, though on August 6, 1918, he bought a second-hand and broken fountain pen for \$1.00 (as his diary indicates), and used this for his diary from then on. The book has no lines other than a pre-printed line marking the top, left, and right margins; Hostetler did not violate the top margin, although wrote beyond the left and right margins printed on each page. On the book's first few pages, Hostetler has inscribed addresses of fellow objectors and his own company addresses, as well as jotting down the location of several key scripture verses; the volume may thus have served several purposes, an address book cum reference book cum diary of sorts.

The back of his book also includes lists of objectors from Camp Funston and Camp Dodge. One list, in pencil, has ninety names; the other, in pen, has about 200 names. Both lists record each man's denomination as well. A newspaper advertisement for Hostetler's silos, circa 1916, is sandwiched between the diary's pages. It reads, in part:

Carnegie can write a few words on a sheet of paper and make it worth \$1,000,000. "That's Capital." . . .

I have eliminated cheap material and construct the best Silo in the United States. "That's Progress."

My competitors will tell you tat they construct just as good a silo as I do. "That's Gall."

Everyone who wants the best Silo and avoid future troubles, will have me construct a Monolithic Concrete Silo for them. "That's Good Judgment."

In the advertisement as in the diary, Hostetler reveals his penchant for humor, for creativity, and for self-assurance. And, by keeping the advertisement in the diary, Hostetler shows his characteristic longing to document his personal history--a characteristic shared by his eldest daughter, Thelma Kauffman, who has preserved her father's diary and made it available to scholars interested in Hostetler's Great War past.

Textual Notes

- 206.12-14 These inscriptions appear on the folio side of the sheet; nothing appears on the page facing these notes.
- 206.15-25 These inscriptions appear on the folio side of the sheet; nothing appears on the page facing these notes.
- 208.1 The word noted as unrecoverable has been rendered unreadable because of Hostetler's obscured handwriting.
- 208.13 The word noted as unrecoverable has been rendered unreadable because of Hostetler's obscured handwriting.
- 209.15 The word noted as unrecoverable has been rendered unreadable because of Hostetler's obscured handwriting.
- 219.27 "Let your . . . well chosen" has been underlined, with a left bracket marking the first part of the sentence.

Emendations

Each emendation is keyed to the appropriate page and line number. This edition follows the standard lemma form of reporting emendations: the accepted reading appears to the right, followed by a bracket and then the copy text reading. The following symbols will also be used in this list:

- < > passage deleted by the author
- ↑↓ authorial interlineations
- ~ portion of copy text reading agreeing with this edition's reading.
- ^ absence of item in the copy text which is found in this edition

- 206.20 164 D.B.] ~ < 2 battalion? >
- 208.4 June 2. Sunday.] Sun June 2nd
- 208.8 June 3. Monday.] Mon. June 3rd
- 208.22 June 7. Friday] Fri.
- 209.1 June 8. Saturday] Sat.
- 209.7 June 9. Sunday.] Sun.
- 209.13 June 10. Monday.] Mon June 10 --18
- 209.14 them I guess] ~ ↑ I guess ↓
- 209.24 June 11. Tuesday.] June 11--Tue--1918.
- 210.2 June 13. Thursday.] Thurs.
- 210.5 June 14. Friday] Fri. 14 --18
- 210.7 June 17. Monday.] Mon. June 17 --18.
- 211.26 night 5] ~ < 4 > ↑ 5 ↓
- 212.1-2 boys this morn.] ~ ↑ this morn. ↓
- 213.22 they all negroes] ~ ↑ negroes ↓
- 214.5 the lights] ~ < indecipherable >

- 214.13 July 7. Sunday.] Sun. eve. July 7 --18.
- 215.2 went to an illustrated] ~ ↑ illustrated ↓
- 216.3 July 20.] 20th of July --18.
- 216.14 July 22. Monday.] Mon. July 22 --18.
- 218.14 a subject] ~ < sbu > ~
- 219.10 a play] a < scene > ↑ play ↓
- 219.11 two scenes] < one > ↑ two ↓
- 219.24 Had orders] < Cor > ~
- 220.14 picnic] picn ↑ i ↓ c
- 220.25 went thrashing] ~ < trh > ~

Commentary

- 206.2 Matt. 5:39-40: A defining scriptural passage in the Mennonite doctrine of nonresistance: "But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also."
- 206.4 John 18-36: Hostetler probably intends here John 18:36, as the Gospel of John has only 21 chapters. John 18:36 reads: "My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence."
- 206.5 Rom 12:17-21: Another core scriptural passage in the doctrine of Mennonite nonresistance: "Recompense to no man evil for evil. Provide things honest in the sight of all men. If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men. Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath: for it is written, Vengeance is mine: I will repay saith the Lord. Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good."
- 206.6 II Cor. 10:14: "For we stretch not ourselves beyond our measure, as though we reached not unto you: for we are come as far as to you also in preaching the gospel of Christ."
- 206.7 (H OM, Eli Durkenson, Superior IA): The "H OM" probably stands for Durkenson's denomination, either Hutterite, Holdeman, or Old Mennonite. Whether he was a conscientious objector remains questionable, as there is no Eli Durkenson on military record lists of Camp Funston objectors.

- 206.17 45 Co. 164 . . . Camp Dodge, Iowa: Hostetler various address while interned, the first two at Camp Funston, the last at Camp Dodge.
- 207.16 I sure . . . one: According to Hostetler's daughter, Thelma Kauffman, when Hostetler told the story about having his picture taken in puttees and boots, he said he wanted a copy of the picture because he thought it funny--not because he wanted evidence of the mistreatment he received.
- 208.2 John: Probably John Hamilton, a friend of Hostetler's from Harper and a member of Hostetler's church. He had been conscripted three weeks before Hostetler and, according to Hostetler, Hamilton's weaker constitution made him an easy victim of the soldiers' and officers' taunts (interview). He was furloughed to Mason City, Iowa, and discharged before Christmas, 1918.
- 210.25 When the bridegroom: An allusion to the parable of the ten virgins found in Matthew 25: 1-13. The parable likens the kingdom of God to ten virgins who prepared for a bridegroom's arrival. Five had enough oil in their lamps, and five did not; the wise ones with enough oil were invited into the marriage with the bridegroom while the five foolish virgins desperately looked for more oil.
- 211.9 9 Hutterites: Jacob Waldner, in his translated *Diary*, relates the mistreatment received by these nine Hutterites at Funston. Upon their arrival at Camp Funston, they were pushed to the ground, kicked, and mocked by soldiers who recognized them as objectors because of their clothes and beards. Several were taken to a bath house and put upside down under the faucet so that they choked on the water, then pushed out the window. "So godless they treated them that they threw some twice through the window," Waldner writes. While the men were still wet from the showers, they were dragged through the camp's dirt streets. They were compelled to stay on the ground while soldiers pummeled them with a medicine ball. Finally, the Hutterites were taken by officers for

their physical examinations. "During the whole time," Waldner says, "they received many a kick and blow over their heads for not registering for work. The officers too maltreated them by poking their walking sticks into the men's stomachs that it sometimes took your breath away. But with the help of God our men were able to bear this." Before being sent to the conscientious objector detachment, the men were forced by officers to don yellow work clothes and had all their property taken from them (Waldner 36-37).

211.10 Holcroft: Charles William Hollcroft who, according to Hostetler, was in the Navy when World War I broke out in 1914. After getting a dishonorable discharge from the Navy, he went to Kansas City, was converted to the Mennonite Church, and became a conscientious objector. Hostetler was convinced the military would have re-enlisted Hollcroft and made him an officer, would he have revoked his conscientious objection. Hollcroft did not, and faced a more difficult hearing with the Board of Inquiry. After the war, he resided in Harper.

211.14 Luke 7:41-49: Jesus confronts Simon Peter, who is angry that a woman of ill repute had washed Jesus's feet with ointment. He relates the story of the two debtors, one who owed much money, one who owed little. Both debts were forgiven by the creditor, and Jesus asks Simon which debtor will love the creditor most. Simon rightly answers that the one who is most forgiven will love the most.

212.3-4 Capt. . . . too: From information related by Noah Leatherman and Waldner, it seems Kintz was upset about more than the absence of three men's hats. Both men relate that on June 30, 1918, several more Hutterites arrived at Camp Funston and were sorely treated by soldiers at the camp, who beat the Hutterites on the face and back and had their clothing torn. Several incurred noticeable bruises and cuts on the their faces and backs. According to

Leatherman, at the same time, one of the objectors discovered a torn up letter from Kintz's wife to the captain, asking that he "not deal harshly with these men and be careful what he does." Leatherman wrote "Very much like Pilots wife at the time of Jesus. And we believe it had its fruit, as the Capt. seemed very much dissatisfied with the treatment the Hutterites had rec'd, and said he was going to Camp Funston to see about it" (13).

- 213.10 Class 4: Objectors who receive this classification are recommended to be sent to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, for further examination.
- 213.10 Class 2: There were three different designations for Class 2, all recommending that the objector be placed in noncombatant jobs: Those who were classified 2-A were deemed sincere conscientious objectors as to combatant, but not as to noncombatant, service; those who were classified 2-B were found to be sincere conscientious objectors who were willing to accept noncombatancy; those classified as 2-C were willing to accept service or were assigned to service in reconstruction hospitals.
- 213.13 This morn: See note in Gaeddert, 177.10-12. In his 1968 interview, Hostetler had this to say about the experience: "There were three negroes that had been sentenced. What we gather was that they had raped a, some fellow out at Spurlock or there someplace told them [military authorities] that they had raped his girl. Anyways, they hung them. They had a scaffold set up during the night. Of course they didn't tell everybody what they were going to do, they just marched us out there to what looked like a forty acre field. Around us they had them all lined up, probably 40,000 people lined up and we were back a ways with the scaffold in the middle . . . so I was at a hanging."
- 213.26 Jim Troyer: Hostetler's 1968 interview suggests Jim Troyer is the man from Crystal, Kansas, who Hostetler spoke with on the train to camp, and who believed he would probably take noncombatant service so that he could

continue smoking cigarettes. Shortly after he arrived at Camp Dodge, Hostetler met the man from the train, and "he [Troyer] said he was taking regular training but he had put in an application for truck driving" (interview). This information agrees with the details in Hostetler's diary.

- 214.2 Salmon: Benjamin Salmon, a Roman Catholic objector from Denver, Colorado; he also objected to the war on humanitarian grounds. An outspoken objector at Camp Funston, Salmon apparently argued for objectors' rights in camp, and challenged officers when they stepped outside the limits of governmental mandate. Salmon was eventually court-martialed and sentenced to Fort Leavenworth, where he spent two years.
- 214.18 behold the fields: An allusion to Matthew 9:37-38: "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few; Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth labourers into his harvest."
- 214.20-21 Thank God . . . our cause: A possible allusion to II Timothy 2:3: "Thou therefore endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ." Because Hostetler later mentions the well-known hymn "Onward Christian Soldiers," this is another potential source for the allusion: "Onward Christian Soldiers/marching off to War/With the Cross of Jesus/going on before."
- 215.2-5 Also yes. . . . all in: The Hutterite Waldner describes this experience in his *Diary*: At 9 a.m. we walked two by two to the YMCA--We told the lieutenant that this bothers our conscience, and he said that we may then leave the building. We discovered that they had a theater in there and showed pictures about venereal diseases. We did not think we should look at these pictures and left. That made the officers very angry. In the afternoon we had a long and heated discussion with the captain until we

could convince him of the teachings in the Ten Commandments, which speak against making images or likenesses" (40).

219.10-13

Our hard boiled . . . rape you: This interaction between the Hutterite Stahl (there were four Hutterites with the last name "Stahl" at Funston) and his officer was apparently a memorable one for Hostetler. In his 1968 interview, he recounted the "two man show" between Stahl and Bacheran after the Hutterites once again had refused to walk in formation: "One of the sergeants, he'd come back there [to the formation] and he got after this one boy, and promised that he'd give us a one man show, or two man show. He got after them [the Hutterites] for not walking in formation. Then he'd given [the Hutterites] a good bawling out. Stahl, he says, 'I'm not mad at you.' And that made the sergeant mad, I guess, He said 'You're going to have to walk in line, he says, and if you don't, I'm going to have to get someone to make you.'"

CHAPTER FOUR

BEHIND PRISON WALLS: JOHN NEUFELD

Darkness shrouded the Kansas countryside, its July-ambered wheat fields blackened by the cover of night. Still, John Neufeld could no doubt see they were near home, the familiar landmarks of McPherson County reminding Neufeld that his family's farm was only three miles away. Neufeld had not been on the farm in quite some time, having been detained at Camp Cody, New Mexico, as a conscientious objector: he had not rubbed the growing wheat shafts between his hands; had not lingered outside on a muggy summer night, watching fireflies and hearing crocuses; had not enjoyed a Sunday fropa of watermelon and rollcuchen. But such pleasures of Kansas in July would not be his now. Shackled to his cousin to prevent him from fleeing, Neufeld could only watch his community pass by and dream about the late summer he would not have, as the train in which he was riding chugged through and away from the comfortable confines of home to a more ominous destination: the Fort Leavenworth penitentiary.

The symbolic import of Neufeld's nighttime train ride in July 1918 is striking, a significance not lost on Neufeld, who later recalled that "It was night time in more ways than one, when we passed the very familiar crossing over which we had so often traveled to church" ("Forty Years" 1). Although Neufeld journeyed through his community and within miles of his then-sleeping family, his conscientious objection had isolated him completely from his home and all it stood for. He could only see the dark countryside through a pane of glass that separated him from everything he knew and valued, a separation soon to be maintained by the prison's thick concrete walls. At one time, the church community Neufeld watched through his train window would have been outraged and disappointed when they discovered a beloved son had been placed in handcuffs and thrown in jail. Now, of course, things were different; pacific Mennonite young men had become as common criminals to the American populace, handcuffed and placed under armed guard for their own refusal to fight and bear arms.

Neufeld's First World War experiences may well be seen as emblematic of the worst treatment given to wartime conscientious objectors. In 1918, he endured physical and verbal abuse and then imprisonment, something from which many objectors were spared. Sent to a camp with a small conscientious objector population, Neufeld was beaten for disobeying an order to drill; was court-martialed by a biased judge and with the assistance of a complacent counsel; and was sentenced to fifteen years worth of hard labor at Fort Leavenworth. Certainly other Great War objectors would fall victim to graver physical mistreatment than Neufeld; certainly others would receive harsher sentences than his. Yet Neufeld's "Diary" is likely the only available remaining holograph which provides a first-hand account of the most difficult trials objectors confronted during the war, trials both figurative (as with the abuses they received) and literal (as with their courts-martial). If for this reason alone, Neufeld's text deserves inclusion here.

Neufeld's rather brief Great War document sits somewhat uncomfortably amidst diaries written by Mennonite conscientious objectors of that era. In many ways, Neufeld's work is not as other diaries; his text does not conform to the conventions of a diary, having no pattern of regular entries detailing the diarist's day-to-day activities. Indeed, Neufeld's "Diary" follows more closely the model of spiritual autobiography, yet with dates much like the dateline of a diary entry marking the import of various events. Additionally, Neufeld's text, though much like a narrative, was apparently not written in one sitting, but rather was constructed serially over the course of his imprisonment, more in the spirit of the diary. Neufeld's "Diary" (as he thus titled it) must therefore be seen not so much as a traditional diary but as a serial narrative, holding in tension the conventions of diary and of narrative autobiography while telling a story of abuse and imprisonment and Neufeld's own spiritual victory over what he believed the laughing devil of injustice ("Forty Years" 1).

The Great War journey Neufeld took to Camp Cody, New Mexico, was not his first time away from his kin and the church folk of Inman, Kansas. By the time he was drafted in June 1918, Neufeld had already spent several years working with the General Conference Mennonite Church as a missionary, erecting buildings for Native American missions in Oklahoma and Montana. Neufeld's decision to dedicate his youthful energy to Mennonite missions was not unusual; like most Mennonite conscientious

objectors, Neufeld's upbringing was seeped in the Mennonite Church, and his life's plans were inevitably founded on service to Her. This was doubly true in Neufeld's case, as an occupation of Christian ministry in the General Conference Mennonite Church seemed almost ordained for him. His grandfather, Heinrich Toews, a late nineteenth century immigrant from Russia, had been pastor of Inman's Bethel Mennonite Church, a position then assumed by Neufeld's father, Abraham, who was pastor of the Bethel Mennonite Church during the First World War and beyond. Although Neufeld would not continue his family's tradition of the Bethel pastorate following the war (that would be left to a brother), he would yet choose to become a General Conference Mennonite minister too, as would his son and three sons-in-law.

The Great War and conscription provided the only real disruption to Neufeld's life-long service to the church. He was called away from the mission fields of Oklahoma in June 1918, and was ordered to report to Camp Funston, Kansas, along with several other Mennonite brethren from McPherson County. At this point, Neufeld made a momentous decision, one which no doubt affected his First World War experiences. Wanting to be with a cousin who was traveling to Camp Cody, Neufeld asked that he also be sent to New Mexico. His request was granted, and he was allowed passage to Camp Cody, home of a small objector population under the command of misguided or perhaps misinformed military officers, who often ignored Newton Baker's orders to segregate objectors and to treat them with "tact and consideration." Had Neufeld gone instead to Camp Funston, where by then over 150 objectors were detained, his own imprisonment might have been more readily avoided, although even there his freedom from abuse was not assured.

Neufeld and his cousin, Abraham F. Neufeld, left the McPherson train depot for New Mexico on June 26, 1918. Neufeld recorded that fourteen others from McPherson also made the journey, although most were not objectors. The train, having to traverse the southern edge of the Rockies, reached Camp Cody two days later. By the time Neufeld arrived at Camp Cody one year after conscription's advent, there was already a long record of objector mistreatment at the New Mexico cantonment. One Mennonite, Daniel Miller, had been victim of a mock-hanging there; although soldiers had placed a noose around his neck and threatened to lynch him, the camp's adjutant general wrote in his report that since the soldiers were only playing a "practical joke," and since Miller had not "actually been hanged by

the neck," no mistreatment had occurred (qtd. in Homan 120). Further, officers at Camp Cody often wheedled work out of objectors, asking them to "volunteer" for veterinary or hospital duty but not informing them that their volunteer work made them liable for overseas duty. And, courts-martial were legion at Camp Cody where, despite its small size, more objectors received prison sentences than at all but three other camps during the world war. Such abuse could apparently go unabated because of Camp Cody's location, far from any area densely populated by those who could more readily hold the cantonment's officials accountable for their misdeeds. Without regular visits from Mennonite leadership, too, conscientious objectors were often left to fend for themselves against an overtly hostile camp population.

This was the Camp Cody milieu into which Neufeld stepped when his train reached its destination in late June 1918. It did not take long for Neufeld to realize how trying an existence he would have while detained. Upon arrival at Camp Cody, both John and Abraham Neufeld immediately sought an audience with officers to whom they could announce their pacifistic stand. However, because the officer of their company was always sleeping or absent, Neufeld wrote, that audience was never given them. Placed instead in a regular outfit with his cousin and two other objectors, Neufeld was pushed through the rigors of induction and, as with every objector before him, was initially urged to wear a uniform, to drill, and to take up noncombatant duty. When Neufeld and his cousin refused, they were threatened with the stockade, court-martial, and imprisonment. Because they had already witnessed the treatment given another objector who would not wear a uniform, they knew the officers' threats were not in vain. Both Neufeld and his cousin decided they could cut wood, at least on that first day in camp, and that they could probably drill. Neufeld later wrote to H.P. Krehbiel (and in his diary using similar words):

[We] participated in Military drill at three different times. Our Idea was, when we came to camp, to try and make our stand clear to the officers and try to avoid disobeying their orders and to make as little trouble as possible. We had therefore also put on the uniform, although under protest, and had worn it for a part of a day. (3 March 1919)

Early in his stay at Camp Cody, Neufeld probably did not wholly realize that by giving the army an inch, he had conceded to giving the army a mile.

Military officials asked for that mile on Neufeld's first Sunday in camp, when he and his cousin were ordered to cut wood. They refused, arguing that the military could not lawfully make them work on the Sabbath. Dragged before company officials, Neufeld was vehemently cursed, and the company's noncommissioned officers were ordered to beat the objectors should they disobey commands again. Neufeld was then demanded to do small chores as a test of his obedience. Now knowing the price of his insubordination, Neufeld complied with orders and completed the tasks.

Yet Neufeld soon began to feel uncomfortable about the concessions he had made to his officers. He realized that military officials did not recognize his conscientious objection and were not offering him the rights provided objectors by Secretary of War Newton Baker; instead, Neufeld believed Camp Cody officers were only "dragging" him further into the military. Lacking the immediate counsel and wisdom of a Mennonite leader, Neufeld and his cousin had to decide for themselves whether they would continue drilling and working around the camp. And thus, early in their second week as conscripts, when soldiers were awarded arms with which to drill, both Neufeld and his cousin concluded that they would no longer acquiesce. Neufeld later wrote of the experience: "we decided, under conditions like these, that it was best for us to refuse to do any more military work. Accordingly after having laid the matter before God in prayer, many times, asking him for help, we refused to go with the company for drill" (letter to Krehbiel, 3 March 1919).

The cost of Neufeld's decision was immense. When he stepped apart from the marching platoon on July 2, 1918, he was grabbed around the neck and shoved to the earth by a drill sergeant. After pulling Neufeld into a standing position, a corporal was ordered to watch over Neufeld and force him to drill. Neufeld again failed to heed demands to drill, was punched in the face, then thrown once more on the ground and kicked repeatedly. By this time soldiers had ceased drilling themselves to watch the fiasco, surrounding the downed Neufeld and his attacker, jeering at Neufeld and cheering the corporal to continue. Neufeld's only savior on this occasion was a Lieutenant J.S. Beaves, who ordered the melee to cease, not because he was sympathetic to Neufeld--he in fact told the wounded objector that he found his

type "disgusting"--but because Lieutenant Beaves figured "there wasn't use in hitting a man" of Neufeld's demeanor (247). The lieutenant dragged Neufeld before Major S.B. Philpott and reported the incident; Philpott commanded Neufeld to "Go and Drill as ordered by your Officers." When Neufeld again refused to comply, he was put under arrest and sent to the camp stockade.

Two weeks later, on July 17, 1918, Neufeld went to trial. First Lieutenant Robert Waring served as Neufeld's counsel, although he did so without sympathy for Neufeld's conscientious objection and without thorough knowledge of Neufeld's case, having met his client only briefly before the trial proceeded. At the trial's opening, Neufeld pleaded not guilty to the charge of willfully disobeying orders. The prosecution then called as witnesses Lieutenant Beaves, Sergeant Myron Clark, Major Frank Lund, and Major Philpott, all who testified that Neufeld had openly disobeyed officers' commands to drill. The evidence voiced against Neufeld seemed insurmountable, given that only Neufeld and his cousin--another objector in the stockade and awaiting sentence--were allowed to speak for the defense. When Neufeld finally took the stand, he admitted in cross examination that he had disobeyed the order given him, but that the order itself had been unlawful because, as he said at his trial,

it contradicted the order of the War Department of May 30th . . .

[which] says that no person after he has made known his position as a conscientious objector shall be required to participate in drill, in any form, that is contrary to his conscience. (court transcript 14)

Neufeld argued that he had several times made his stance known to officers, and was therefore within his rights to refuse drilling. If, then, Neufeld were a sincere conscientious objector, he was well inside lawful bounds; he had decided not to do something that, according to executive order, he was not compelled to do anyway. Neufeld's counsel argued that the court must therefore prove Neufeld was insincere in his objection to war, defying officer commands for reasons other than conscientious scruples. Only in providing such proof could the court legally sentence Neufeld to Leavenworth.

Thus during the trial, the prosecution aggressively sought to deconstruct Neufeld's conscientious objection, hoping to expose him as insincere, sullen and defiant, and worthy of a lengthy prison term. The prosecution bombarded Neufeld with questions about his church membership, his ethnic heritage,

and his father's occupation. Neufeld was challenged to explain why he would willingly accept a farm furlough--and abet the military machine by raising produce--but would not work as a noncombatant in camp; he was asked whether he supported Germany or the United States in the war and, if he wanted the United States to win so badly, why he would not then fight for her cause. Then in its coup de grace, the prosecution questioned First Lieutenant Ben Wood, a military psychologist who administered Neufeld's psychological exam. Wood surmised that Neufeld was highly intelligent and that "a man of his intelligence" cannot be but "conscientiously dishonest," a sentiment commonly held and often voiced by military authorities.

Wood's conclusions about Neufeld were no doubt convincing to his auditors. Having spoken with Neufeld for two hours and having gauged his responses to various questions, Wood reported to the court that he could confidently measure Neufeld's sincerity as a war objector. In a lengthy soliloquy, Wood provided reasons for why Neufeld was an insincere objector: Neufeld would do farm work, although he knew farming helped the military; he affirmed that killing was wrong, but would not pass judgment on others who killed, leaving such to God; he admitted that the United States should win the war, and that he "was willing or desirous to see other Americans do something that his conscience tells him is wrong"; he voted, and taking part in American politics implicated him in the present war; Neufeld paid taxes, but would not buy Liberty Bonds and was therefore hypocritical; he had agreed to wear the uniform, even though he said it was against his conscience to do so. For these "six salient reasons," Wood asserted, Neufeld was hiding behind the guise of conscientious objection "for the purpose of escaping the service which he knows is his duty to perform" (court transcript 16). Although Lieutenant Wood had been witness at 23 similar trials, and had concluded in all 23 cases that the accused was an insincere conscientious objector, his evidence seemed enough to make the case for Neufeld's own insincerity. The prosecution rested its case, and Neufeld was sentenced to fifteen years hard labor at Fort Leavenworth Penitentiary.

Seven days later, Neufeld and his cousin, the latter sentenced to five years at Leavenworth, began their trek to prison, riding in Pullman sleeping cars rather than uncomfortably bohemian troop trains. A sergeant and a private guarded them on their journey, which took them through Kansas and their home

community and beyond to Kansas City, then to Leavenworth. Their guards were kind to them, Neufeld reported, only handcuffing the prisoners at night "so we might not get the idea of running off or jumping off the train" ("Forty Years" 1). They were also shackled on their march through Kansas City's Union Station, with an armed sergeant walking twenty feet ahead and another "rooky private" following them, "fully armed, so as to be ready for any emergency" ("Forty Years" 1). The manacled march under guard was an interesting experience for the rural Mennonites but one which Neufeld found only "amusing" because of its seeming incongruity (248).

The prisoners and their guards reached Fort Leavenworth at dusk. Before walking through the penitentiary's imposing iron gates, a sentry told the men "to take a good long look outside as we might not get to see the outside world for some time" (248). However untrue, the statement must have seemed foreboding: the men were now most certainly criminals, and would be confined to the narrow space of drab concrete walls. Inside Leavenworth, Neufeld was led through a series of steel doors and into the penitentiary's dark basement, lined with cells; he was strip searched to assure he had no concealed weapons, was issued prison clothes, and then was placed in a locked cell by himself. As the steel door clanked shut, Neufeld wrote later, he "surmised that the devil laughed and said 'Well, that's the end of those two Conshies (Conscientious Objectors).' Or perhaps he called us 'Yellowbacks.' But the Father in Heaven said, 'The end is not yet'" ("Forty Years" 1).

In the first few days of prison life, Neufeld went through a series of physical and psychological exams. He was then placed with the "fifth gang," a working unit that left the prison grounds each day to toil under guard in the nearby fields. The fifth gang was comprised of forty to fifty conscientious objectors, men of "good moral character" who could be trusted outside prison walls. It was, Neufeld wrote Krehbiel in 1919, "a nice bunch to work with . . . free of the roughness in language and action so common in the army and especially among prisoners from the army." Neufeld's work day began with thirty minutes of drill, an activity he felt he could now conscientiously do because he was "free from the army." Farm chores followed, from threshing to filling grain silos. At the completion of his day in the fields, Neufeld was allowed to take books from the prison library to his cell, or he could spend the evening reading his Bible. On Saturday afternoons, J.D. Mininger of the Mennonite Kansas City Mission

held church services for imprisoned objectors; on Sundays, Neufeld and others attended the regular prison service, a brief gathering that included scripture, singing, and a short message. Neufeld found these opportunities for worship an encouragement, as were the visits from Mennonite ministers and any moment's communion with fellow Mennonite objectors. Occasions for such fellowship with other objectors were indeed more common than they had been at Camp Cody, for the objector population at Leavenworth was substantially larger than at the New Mexico cantonment; at the beginning of Neufeld's incarceration, there were around 250 religious objectors, a number which burgeoned to 350 by the end of 1918 (Homan 151).

For the most part, Neufeld was treated well in the early period of his detainment. His only serious trial came several months after he arrived at Leavenworth, when prison officials commanded the fifth gang to work on Sunday, something not previously expected of religious objectors. Thirteen men, including Neufeld, refused to work, and were handcuffed by guards to those who had followed orders. The entire fifth gang was marched out to the fields in shackles. Once outside the prison walls, the men who would not work were handcuffed to posts; although they were supposed to have their arms manacled above their heads via a rope to induce grave discomfort, a rope could not be found, and so they remained cuffed to the post. The others began working. Thirty minutes later, an executive officer arrived and demanded again that the men take to the fields, arguing that the penitentiary--with the backing of Washington--did not offer religious objectors the provision of a Sabbath. Again the men refused officer demands. Shortly thereafter, matters began to work against the guards. The farm machinery broke down and the day's chores could not be completed. All the men were marched back into prison, still in handcuffs, given bread and water for dinner, and returned to their cells. Nothing more was ever mentioned about that day's insubordinate objectors. "God had kept his promise," Neufeld wrote to Krehbiel about the event, "and had brought to naught the plans of men against his people and against his word" (03 March 1919).

In late fall 1918 Neufeld was granted Star Parole, a privilege given only the most trustworthy prisoners who were not considered a threat to escape or to perpetrate more crimes. Neufeld left his prison cell to live in a small building adjacent to the prison dairy where he then worked; he recorded in

his diary that "the work was not hard and such as I liked pretty good" (250). The living conditions, however, were not so congenial, Neufeld wrote: the floors were "partly only dirt" and the building lacked the necessary weatherproofing to keep out the chilly Kansas winter. At any rate, Neufeld believed his "unsanitary" prison home perhaps weakened his immune system, making him susceptible to the diseases raging through Leavenworth; he fell victim to Influenza and then to Diphtheria, although quickly recovered from each illness. Others at Fort Leavenworth and elsewhere, of course, were not so fortunate.

In a decision met with outrage from the populace, Secretary of War Baker began to reverse conscientious objectors' sentences in early January, 1919; the flood gates were opened by the release of 113 prisoners, Neufeld among them. Rumor of his impending freedom reached Neufeld while he was still convalescing in the prison infirmary for Diphtheria. Afraid that he might not be granted a release if he were still in the hospital, Neufeld petitioned his way out of the infirmary although he was not fully recovered and still weak. Several days later, he went through the process of discharge and, along with 112 other objectors, marched back through the penitentiary's iron gates. They were a "rather rough looking bunch," Neufeld wrote Krehbiel, wearing old civilian clothes held long in storage or given them by the prison--apparel which even "lacked the buttons so necessary on clothing" (3 March 1919). Their appearance little mattered, though, for they were free.

The next train ride Neufeld took through McPherson County, Kansas, was much more pleasurable than that of the previous July's summer night. This time, the train stopped in McPherson not under the shroud of darkness, but rather in the chill sun of a January morning; this time Neufeld, no longer immobilized by manacles, stepped off the train and into his home community, putting the war and the penitentiary forever behind him. His "praying parents" welcomed him back to the farm in Inman--parents whom Neufeld credited with having "done much to open up the prison doors by their prayers" ("Forty Years" 2). Like many objectors, Neufeld returned home without any overt bitterness about his incarceration, about the time wasted away in a cement cell nor about the seeming injustice of his lengthy sentence. Although he had spent six months in prison, Neufeld saw goodness in the experience, as the diary's conclusion suggests: "My thoughts are best expressed in the words of 1 Samual 12:24: 'Only fear the Lord, and serve him in truth with all your heart: for consider how great things he hath done for you'"

(251-52). The prison sentence had, after all, allowed him to extend his mission field, to express through his suffering and persistence the foundations of his faith and his certain conviction in God's everlasting providence.

After the war, Neufeld continued to live and work in Kansas. A year following his release from prison, Neufeld left his agrarian Mennonite existence again, traveling to Chicago with \$125.00 and the address of several Mennonite churches in his pocket. Having worked for years in the building trade already, Neufeld felt confident God had directed him to study Architecture, and the Chicago Technical College seemed the most appropriate place to pursue his vocational interests. Once in the metropolis, Neufeld migrated immediately to that which was most comfortable, Mennonites and missions, traversing the city on a series of trolleys until he found the doorstep of the Mennonite Bible Mission. At the mission door, a daughter of Reverend A.F. Weins answered, then informed her father that a soldier was waiting to receive an audience. "She did not know," Neufeld later wrote, "that I had accepted a fifteen-year sentence because I did not want to be this kind of a soldier" ("Forty Years" 2). Nonetheless, the introduction to A.F. Weins was fateful: shortly thereafter, Neufeld made the Mennonite Bible Mission home, teaching Sunday School and attending Sunday and evening services. Two years after his meeting with A.F. Weins, on May 28, 1922, Neufeld married the Reverend Weins's eldest daughter, Catherine. Together, the couple would have five children.

That same year, in 1922, Neufeld completed his architecture studies and began seeking ways to use his education on the mission field. To Krehbiel he wrote of his desire to continue working in missions, asking also for information about where and how he could apply his skills to Mennonite missions. His central wish remained carrying the Christian message to the unsaved: "[I] wish to say that I realize that the spreading of the Gospel should be the main and only object of mission work and to assist in that is my only object. To save souls for Christ" (08 February 1922). For the time being, Neufeld worked in the Chicago architecture community, as a correspondence course instructor for Chicago Technical College, as a writer for the *American Builder*, and for the Methodist Bureau of Church Architecture. Neufeld and his wife stayed active in the Mennonite Bible Mission, building a home close by so they could remain more integrally involved in its work.

That active participation took a more official turn in February 1936, when Neufeld was ordained as a Mennonite minister, then served as pastor of the Mennonite Bible Mission, later named the Grace Mennonite Church. Neufeld remained immersed in the Mennonite community, though the Mennonite population in Chicago was of course more widely dispersed than that of Inman, Kansas. Nonetheless, he served on various Mennonite committees in Chicago and in Illinois, working as well with the Mennonite Biblical Seminary and several ecumenical councils. He was also deeply involved in the lives of Chicago's unchurched, believing the Mennonite Bible Mission should be "a lighthouse by the side of the road where the race of men go by" ("A Brief Story" 4). When Neufeld died after a long illness in 1961, he was remembered well by the Chicago church community and by the greater Mennonite Church for his forty years' service to both.

Shortly before his death, Neufeld published a series of essays in *Missionary News and Notes* detailing his forty years worth of work on the domestic mission field. In the essays, Neufeld does not directly establish a connection between his World War I experiences and his lengthy mission career among the Chicago needy, though he also affirms that the connection is there: that God led him from the bondage of prison to the city, that the shackles of prison only prepared him to help others remove their own figurative shackles of poverty and despair. During his time at Fort Leavenworth, Neufeld had been forced beyond the warmth and comfort of the Mennonite community, and had been placed among the nation's outcasts; indeed, he had himself become an outcast. The experience had infused him with more compassion for and understanding of others, of the "criminal kind" who were yet "always well to get along with" (251). A life time of farming in Inman, Kansas, would probably not have given him the long view of humanity afforded by six months in a federal penitentiary; that view, in turn, provided him the passion--and the compassion--for his transformative ministry in Chicago.

Although brief, Neufeld's Great War story offers compelling testimony to the trials faced by many First World War objectors, while his life's story shows how such trials propelled one Mennonite to leave his home community for a successful career as a city missionary. As readers, we could almost wish that Neufeld would have told more, would have offered greater detail about what abuse at Camp Cody felt like; about being tried by a partial judge and counsel; about being treated as a criminal for the

conscientious--and at that point legal--choice to refuse drill. Still, Neufeld's serial narrative remains valuable nonetheless, as it reveals so clearly the depths of America's wartime fervor: a fervor which compelled military officers to beat and arrest objectors, a fervor which impelled citizens to outrage when imprisoned objectors received amnesty long before their sentences ended. And, Neufeld's short "diary" shows as well one man's willingness to be grateful for God's providence despite the punishment given him, even if that thanksgiving must be expressed in shackles and from behind prison walls.

The Diary of John Neufeld

[1918]

History of my

Registered June 5th 1917.

Filled out questionaire in January 1918. Claimed no exemptions.

Feb. 27. Came home from Okla and was given physical examination. Appealed to medical advisory board and was given anothe physical examination

Was passed for full military service.

June 24. Called to report for camp to go to Camp Funston. Changed with another friend that I could go to Camp Cody June 26. [2] In order that I might go together with my friend and partner AF. Neufeld.

June 26. Left for Camp Cody New Mexico together with 14 others from McPherson and arrived in Camp Cody on the morning of June 28th—1918.

We were put in 12th Co June casual camp.

There were two other objectors in the same co. besides my cousin Abram Neufeld and myself. One of these took up noncombatant work or wanted too after passing the three weeks in the casual camp. The other one was sent too Ft. Riley later.

We made known our stand to the several officers as best or as [3] soon as we could. Although one of the officers usually was either asleep or absent from his tent so that we never got to see him. The other officers did not pay much attention to our stand. One of these gave orders once to give us kitchen work till our matter could be fixed, but we were taken out for drill with the other men just the same. The other officers told us that it was either for us to accept noncombatant work or go to the stockade and be courtmartialled.

When we told them that we were willing to go to the stockade but protested to the brutal treatment as we had seen it given to [4] another men in our company Sheldon Smith who refused to put on the uniform. They gave us to understand that we could expect the samething and that

that was the only way they would send us to the stockade. The close of this interview was that we were sent to the woodpile to cut wood. We cut wood that day and also several other times.

The first Sunday I did a little kitchen work voluntary.

That same Sunday in the afternoon they called us two boys out and ordered us to cut wood, telling us that we had [5] disobeyed their order, but they would not tell us which order we had disobeyed.

We refused to cut wood telling them that as it was Sunday we could not do any other work than was necessary such as kitchen work etc.

They took us up to an officers tent but as the officer was not there they left us go back to our tents.

That eve. the officer called for us and told us in about these words (as near as I can recollect them.

Officer: Did you today disobey an order given by one of these noncommissioned officers?

Our reply was "We did sir" and we started [6] to tell him why but he stopped us and said "I want you men to understand that when you are told to do some thing by these noncommissioned officers, I want you to do it. I don't care what your d— religion is" and to the noncom officers he said "if these men ever disobey your orders again I want you to lick the s— out them till the do it."

Then turning to us each separate he said "did you understand what I said?" to which each of us replied "yes sir!" Then to the noncommissioned officers "did you understand that?" to which they replied in the affirmative. The next morning we were given all kinds of little odd jobs before the [7] regular drill.

We had by this time participated in military drill at three different times. Our Idea being when we came to camp to try and make our stand clear to the officers and try to avoid any open disobediance, trying to avoid as much trouble as possible. We had also put on the uniform although under protest, and had worn it some. We however found out that they did not listen to

our appeals nor counted or noncombatant papers or church membership papers for anything but thought they would drag us along as others.

Therefore we decided under, conditions like these, that it was best for us to refuse[. . .] [9] but this ordeal did not last long as lieutenant Beever came out and told corporal that there was not use in hitting us again.

Then the lieut spoke to me and told me that I could imagine that he was pretty disgusted with me. Wherenfor, I answered him that I had tried to avoid the incident and had made known my stand to him and other officers. And I had gone as far in military work as my conscience would permit me.

He therefore told the corporal in charge of me to bring me and the other men who had also refused to drill, and follow him. [10] While going off the drill ground, the lieut. met Chislett commander in chief of [. . .] camp and reported our case to him. Major Philprolt as commander in chief ordered us to go and drill as ordered by our superior officers to which we replied that we could not do it.

He then ordered L. Beeves to take us to his office and read the articles of war to us and if we would then still resist in our stand, to make out charges against us and take us to the Div. headquarters. Which he did. This was about [11] the 2nd of July. We arrived in the Div Stockade nearly noon and were put to cleaning up. After we had been entered as prisoners we worked here for one week. getting along fairly well, when our charges were read to us and the date of our trial set. We were asked whether we had any choice of someone for our council in our trial to which we replied we had non. Then they askes us whether they should get someone for us, which we told them would be allright to us. A week later we had our trial, this being the 19 of July.

Our defendent or council introduced himself about 15 min [12] before our trail. Asking us several things about our cases.

He told us that we would do the best he could for us, but that he really had no sympathy for us.

The procedure of our trial by court martial can be seen from our copy of the court proceedings.

July 24. About a week later we were ordered to pack up our goods to go to Leavenworth.

Our treatment in the stockade had been fairly good with the exception that the man Sheldon Smith was beaten up pretty bad when he refused to work around camp [13] When receiving our goods out of the stockade office we found out that we were short some of our property. My partner was short about seven dollars in cash money and a watch valued at about seven dollars. I was short a new fountain pen. These goods have never been found. Although through reports we have heard that Sargent Reham who was one of those in charge of the stockade has been sent to the federal penitentiary for taking property of some other prisoners.

A sergeant and another private were put in charge of us and we were sent to Leavenworth.

[14] We were very glad to be sent away from Camp Cody. (Two of us were sent AFT and myself.) We thought that although prisoners yet we would find work in Leavenworth in prison that we could do with a free conscience. My partner's sentence was five years at hard labor and mine was fifteen years, but we never entertained the idea that we would have to serve the full length of our sentence.

Our treatment on the way was fine. We had sleeping quarters and were allowed fifty cents a meal. We were hand cuffed only for the night and when we arrived at Kansas City. Our sentries in command [15] were very kind to us.

The experience of marching through Kansas City Handcuffed was new to us but we considered it mostly from the amusing side of it.

Leavenworth.

Before we entered the prison gates a sentry told us to take a good long look outside as we might not get to see the outside world for a while.

This however did not come true as we were outside the gates again after two days, although for work under guard.

The reception at the D.B was better than we had expected. We were again spoken to at least [16] in a kind way (Although this is not always the case when prisoners are received).

A sentry told us that they had already 250 CO. This cheered us up very much as a man always likes when in trouble. The next day and the few days after this were spent in dressing in and taking our life history and physical ex etc.

We were put on the 5th gang for work. This gang we soon found out consisted of only C.O. usually 50 in number. And was not guardered heavily usually from 1 to 2 guards.

As they were all C.O. we did not have [17] any of the rough language that is so common among the general prisoners. This gave us a nice bunch to work with.

The first month of work was pretty steady for us as we were required to take 30 min of physicial drill in the morning before we went to work. We usually were out for drill at six oclock having finished our breakfast by this time.

The food also was quite a change off from what we were used too. But all this was not anything to be worried about as we were now free from the army never being bothered about accepting service the plague of always being tried to get to accept [18] It was. Stand in line before meals March to meal, march out fo work. Standing in line before going to work, stand and wait in the barber shop in the store room while receiving mail, while getting writing paper etc. In day time we did our work and at evening we could sit or lay down in peace with a book or paper. The library was a great help to me. Here we could get books to read.

One tirsome task in the D.B. was the standing in line. It was always, line up for meal, marchout, line up in the storeroom, line up for supper for work, line up for count and with lining up always was waiting, standing in line, from 15 to 30 min.

On Sunday forenoon we always attended the general services. The services were always short, good scripture readings were given and quite a bit of singing. [19] We however soon received some visits from our own ministers which inspired us very much. When coming from

these meeting I always felt like I really was getting along very good and had courage to go on whatever might happen.

Among the other ministers that visited us were. Aaron Loucks, D.H. Bender and H.P. Krehbiel. Several others had been there before I was in the D.B.

Later on when permanent services were arranged for Rev. Miniger from Kansas City always spoke to us on Saturday afternoon. Also the brethern. H.R. Voth, P.H. Unruh Daniel Kaufmann and others shared at some

All of these services were very helpful to me and also I think to everyone.

[20] After I was at the D.B. about 3 months I was given star parole. This allowed me to work outside the gates without guard. I was given a job at the dairy barns and I had to move out there. We stayed in a building near the dairy barn. The work was not hard and such as I liked pretty good.

My partner AF Neufeld was by this time in the Hospital. He stayed in the Hospital nearly 7 weeks in which time we did not get to see each other, only a few notes passed. Soon after he came out he was sent to Camp Dodge, while I was held. I was in the prison hospital twice At the first time I had the flu [21] and was in three days. The treatment was good, considering the many sick people they had to attend too. The second time I was in on account of Diphtheria. This was in January. The cause of this sickness was perhaps the unsanitary conditions in our building at the dairy barns. Our floors were partly only dirt floor and the building was not weatherproof. I had only a slight start of this disease and needed to stay in the hospital only 4 days.

While I was in the hospital I first heard the news that 113 CO were to be released. [22] This caused me to be in a hurry about getting out. I got out about the 23 of January. When I came out of my ward I read in the paper the list of names and found my name in it. This was a thing hard to believe. We had heard so many rumors we could hardly believe these. I went back to duty although I was weak yet with great hopes.

Saturday the 25th of January. My father visited me for the 3rd time.

We both were attending the services and Bro Minninger was just telling how the Apostle Peter had been freed from prison bond, when an [23] orderly came in and read a notice for a bunch of us to report to the executive office. I had to leave my father but it was with the best hopes that I would soon follow him home. From this time on till Monday noon was spent in waiting for the different papers that had to be made out and a little physical examination. On Monday Noon the 113 were all outside the gates in civilian clothes.

Our clothes looked rather raggy. Those of us who had our own clothes wore these although they were not in the best of condition having been tucked away for several months. Those who had no clothes were given old clothes, some of these made a rather peculiar sight.

I happened to be in the last bunch that left the prison. They were turned out in bunches of ten.

[24] We were marched through one gate with a sentry. Then the other outside gates were open and we heard for the last time the word, forward march to which we have not heard the word "halt" yet. Our feelings were such it cannot all be expressed. We were glad to get out, and on the other hand sorrow to leave behind us over 3000 other prisoners who would value their freedom just as much as we did. I can say that all the other prisoners that I met in the last few days were all glad and rejoiced with us. Of course they would have liked to go to, but I have noticed nothing of the hatred feelings that the papers were so full of. The hatred of the prisoners was towards the officers but not toward fellow prisoners. [25] During all the time that I was in the D.B. I have heard and noticed very little ill feeling toward the C.O. Although there were among these prisoners many of the criminal kind yet they were always well to get along with.

The reason perhaps was that we shared their fate with them and were not given any privilege whatsoever.

I arrived home the morning of the 27th of January after having visited in Kansas City at the mission of bro. Minninger yet.

My thought now is best expressed in the word of 1 Samuel 12-24

Only fear the Lord, and serve him in truth with all your heard: for consider how great things he hath done for you.

Text

The original holograph, held at the Mennonite Library and Archives, serves as the copy-text for this edition of John T. Neufeld's text. Neufeld's diary never reached publication, although the author did write about his First World War trial and imprisonment for *Missionary News and Notes*, in a series detailing his forty years of mission service in Chicago. The only other extant version of Neufeld's text is a typescript housed in the John Neufeld collection at the Illinois Mennonite Heritage Center in Metamora, Illinois; it is not clear who created the typescript, or for what purpose.

Neufeld's diary was kept on a medium sized steno notebook, in dimension about five inches by ten inches. The notebook's pages, bound by string, are lined. There is a one inch space marking the top margin of each page, a space Neufeld transgressed only a few times in his text's construction. Although there is no pre-printed dates or page numbers, Neufeld included his own, numbering each page in the upper right hand corner. He wrote consistently in dark ink, oscillating between a fine and a medium point pen throughout the text.

At some point, Neufeld felt it necessary to revise several portions of his document. Entire paragraphs have been crossed out, with interlineations inscribed above the canceled passages. It is difficult to ascertain when exactly Neufeld made these revisions, though they are clearly authorial, being written in the same hand as the diary and as Neufeld's letters from the time. Because the interlineations have been deemed authorial, they are retained in the text, with an indication of the canceled passages appearing in the end-of-text apparatus.

Textual Notes

- 245.3 "History of my" is scrawled in the upper margin of page one; however, Neufeld does not finish the sentence, only drawing a horizontal line after "my."
- 243.25 In the upper margin, Neufeld has written "One of these officers was Lieutenant Beeves of _____ but the others I did not know."
- 246.3 Page eight is missing from Neufeld's text. Neufeld's daughter, Esther Kressly, inserted a page in the manuscript at this point, detailing the story of the physical abuse Neufeld received. It is not clear when or how page eight was extracted from the manuscript.
- 247.11-12 Neufeld canceled a significant portion of the passage on this page; his markings on this page are such that the original passage is indecipherable. What exists in the text is written on top of the cancellation, from "commander in chief" to "we could not do it."
- 249.16-20 Neufeld's heavy editing pen was at work here as well, again crossing out and revising significant portions of the page. His revisions, appearing in this edition's text, were written in the upper margin of the page and above the cancellations; in this instance at least, the canceled passages are readable, and are recorded on the emendations list.
- 249.22 At the end of the line "D.B. was the" Neufeld drew a circle with an X inside. There is no indication of why he used the symbol or why it is included at this point in the text.
- 250.3 Neufeld drew a circle around the sentence "Several others had been there before I was in the D.B."

Emendations

Each emendation is keyed to the appropriate page and line number. This edition follows the standard lemma form of reporting emendations: the accepted reading appears to the right, followed by a bracket and then the copy text reading. The following symbols will also be used in this list:

- < > passage deleted by the author
 - ↑↓ authorial interlineations
 - ~ portion of copy text reading agreeing with this edition's reading.
 - ^ absence of item in the copy text which is found in this edition
-
- 245.6 Feb 27] ~ 2 < 6 > ↑ 7 ↓
 - 245.7 examination] ~ < on 1918 >
 - 246.3 voluntary.] ~ < That same Sunday while calling the company for line up >
 - 246.17 noncom officers] ↑ noncom ↓ ~
 - 246.22-23 little odd jobs] < little to do > ↑ little odd jobs ↓
 - 246.27 some] ~ < one day >
 - 247.1 church membership] < noncombatant papers > ~
 - 247.3 told] < indecipherable > ~
 - 247.11-13 Chislett commander . . . officers] ~ < indecipherable > ↑ commander . . . officers ↓
 - 247.16 make out charges] < indecipherable > ↑ make out charges ↓
 - 247.20 We were] ~ < as > ~
 - 248.6 around camp] < in the stockade > ~
 - 249.5 likes] ~ < when he is not in >

- 249.16-17 army . . . accepting service] ~ < and also free from the > ↑ never
 . . . accepting service ↓
- 249.20 could sit or lay] ~ < lay > ↑ sit or lay ↓
- 249.20-21 with a book or paper] ~ < a book that we could get from the
 library > ↑ a book or paper ↓
- 249.21 to me. Here . . . to read] ~ ↑ Here . . . to read ↓
- 249.22 for meal] ~ < breakfast > ↑ meal ↓
- 250.3 Among the other] ~ < the first > ↑ the other ↓
- 250.10 given a] ~ < the > ↑ a ↓
- 250.23 this caused me] ~ < made me > ↑ caused me ↓
- 250.23 me to be in . . . getting out] ~ < hurry up and get out as soon as possible >
 ↑ be in . . . getting out ↓
- 251.3 had to leave] ~ < part from > ↑ leave ↓

Commentary

- 245.25 Sheldon Smith: A rarity during the First World War, the objector Sheldon Smith was found “not guilty” of his charges at his court-martial, and was returned to his company at Camp Cody. According to Neufeld, however, Smith was beaten badly twice while at Cody: once for refusing to don a uniform, and another time in the prison stockade, when he refused to work around the camp. He was transferred to Camp Funston and released there in December, 1918.
- 247.3 [. . .]: In a letter to H.P Krehbiel dated 3 March 1919, Neufeld relates the experience of his abuse. The details of this event are missing from his diary: “After having laid the matter before God in prayer, many time, asking him for help, we refused to go with the company for drill. We stepped out of line, but were both grabbed by the neck and pushed to the drill ground. One corporal was put in special command of me to make me drill. As I did not obey the commands of right and left face as they were given, I was jerked around by the ears and also boxed around once or twice. Was also thrown to the ground and kicked at but not hurt. The men all around were swearing and cussing me.” Only much later, in his series of *Missionary News and Notes* essays, does Neufeld mention that part of their decision not to drill was based on the officers’ demands to practice drill with arms.
- 247.15 articles of war: In particular, Neufeld was no doubt read Articles of War 64 and 65, which stipulated that “the willful disobedience of a lawful order or command” was punishable by trial and imprisonment. He was charged with

violation of the 64th Article of War for refusing the “lawful command” to “Go and Drill as ordered by your officers.”

248.1 court proceedings: Transcripts of Neufeld’s trial can be found at the Mennonite Library and Archives, North Newton, Kansas, and at the Illinois Mennonite Historical and Genealogical Society, Metamora, Illinois.

249.3 the reception: In “Forty Years of City Mission Work” (1960) Neufeld describes his “reception” thusly: “It was getting dark as we passed through the big iron gate at the Disciplinary Barracks at Fort Leavenworth. After some interviews with Colonel Hoisington and others we were led through more steel doors and finally to a basement cell corridor. Here we had to strip so as to make sure that we had no secret weapons on us; and finally were disposed of for the night in two separate cells in this basement jail. I have often surmised that the devil laughed and said, ‘Well, that’s the end of those two Conschies (Conscientious Objectors).’ Or perhaps he called us ‘Yellowbacks.’” (5, 13)

250.3 Aaron Loucks: An Old Mennonite, Loucks was general manager of the Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania. During the war he chaired the Old Mennonite Church's Military Problems Committee, working with the government on behalf of objectors and visiting men in camps. According to Homan, Loucks journeyed great distances during the war to visit men in camps and to meet with military officials. A friend and coworker on the Military Problems Committee, Jonas Hartlzer, noted that Loucks was beleaguered by the heft of his correspondence and the rigors of traveling, but still worked tirelessly for the objectors’ cause (125).

- 250.3 D.H. Bender: Daniel H. Bender, president of the Old Mennonites' Hesston College in Hesston, Kansas. Bender also visited and counseled objectors as part of the Amish Mennonite and Old Mennonite "Committee of Ten."
- 250.5 Rev. Miniger: Reverend Jacob Mininger, a minister in the Old Mennonite church and a Kansas City Mennonite missionary. Mininger became a familiar sight at Fort Leavenworth during the war, visiting objectors and holding worship services for them. Following the war, in March 1919, Mininger published "Religious C.O's Imprisoned at the U.S. Disciplinary Barracks, Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas," an extensive list of the objectors incarcerated at Leavenworth, their home address, denomination, the camp at which they were sentenced, the length of their sentences, and the date of imprisonment and of their release. Mininger's list remains a significant document for tracing objectors imprisoned during the war.

CHAPTER FIVE

JACOB CONRAD MEYER'S LEGACY—THE GREAT WAR AND BEYOND

The regimental medical doctor, a Harvard man whose time and energy could little be wasted at Camp Sevier, South Carolina, wanted to speak with Jacob Meyer. Never mind that the Spanish Influenza which had already ravaged the American countryside was now raging through the military cantonment, rendering prostrate and in some cases killing the once healthy soldiers that marched the camp's grounds. Never mind that the battles over there were quickening to their bitter end, and that able men were needed, and fast, to help Allied forces put the final nail in Germany's coffin. Those things surely mattered to the good doctor, but not at this moment. The physician had heard from a sergeant that another Harvard man was haunting the dusty streets of Camp Sevier, and he wanted to meet his fellow Ivy Leaguer, perhaps to reminisce about the old school, perhaps to dream together about the hallowed brick walls of their esteemed institution.

This Jacob C. Meyer was probably not as the doctor imagined. The man standing before him on October 20, 1918, was not wearing a soldier's uniform, but the simple and well-worn work clothes of a common civilian. Further, Meyer was no duty-bound patriot with *pro patria mori* on his lips, but a conscientious objector, and an Amish Mennonite at that. The physician was, no doubt, suspicious, and could little convince himself that someone might be both a Harvard graduate and a conscientious objector, save that the evidence was standing before him in the visage of Meyer. Had not the incredulous doctor heard, after all, that Mennonite objectors were ignorant and illiterate, intellectually inferior farmers who knew their Bibles but little else? How then could one of these be a Harvard graduate, holder of a phi beta kappa key no less? But there he was, this Jacob Meyer, Harvard graduate and supposed conscientious objector. The doctor upbraided the fellow Harvard alum standing before him, reminding Meyer that one was called to fight and improve his world by whatever means necessary. He then told Meyer that in his mind, all objectors were ignorant, implying that present company was included. An hour-long discussion about conscientious objection followed, with the doctor asking questions and the

objector providing, through what he felt was rational analysis, the arguments for his own conscientious objection to warfare. After the interview, the regimental doctor's mind was changed. Although he would no doubt continue to heal soldiers to make them fit for fighting, the doctor was now convinced that no man could be both ignorant and a conscientious objector, as the nonresistant stance required the reasoning skills of a well-trained mind such as Meyer's.

Meyer's discussion with Camp Sevier's regimental physician was not unusual. Throughout the course of his five-month detainment during the Great War, Meyer was often called before men who could little believe a Harvard graduate might also be a Mennonite objector. In a way, Meyer became somewhat of a novelty, put on display as the marvelous anomaly to the many supposedly "bovine-faced" and "stupid" objectors who populated United States cantonments. Men like the Camp Sevier doctor had to see for themselves the articulate and intelligent Amish man who claimed to be an objector, and demanded an audience with Meyer. When Meyer was placed before them, he was many times derided for so grossly misusing his academic gifts, by failing to give his tremendous talents to his country and to the war. It is too bad, the Board of Inquiry's Major Walter Kellogg told Meyer, that a man of your intelligence feels compelled to take such a position. Other military officials were quick to echo the Major's assessment.

To be sure, Meyer defied many of the stereotypes about Mennonite conscientious objectors which flourished during the Great War; to be sure, he was indeed in many ways an anomaly. Most of his fellow Mennonite objectors had little education, though not necessarily little intellect. Some could not read nor write competently in English, if at all, and could not clearly articulate the basis of their nonresistant faith, even as they understood completely the Bible's imperative that they remain nonresistant. Many had seen little of the world beyond their farms and families, nor would see much of the world following the war's conclusion. And then, there was Meyer who by the Great War had already earned a B.A. from Goshen College and an M.A. in History from Harvard; who, during the Great War, read voraciously, from H.G. Wells to Homer, Immanuel Kant to George Eliot; who could clearly justify his objection to war not only

using his Mennonite upbringing and the Bible, but philosophy and history and literature as well; and who had already seen a great deal outside his small farming community and would see much more after the war had ended. Because of the differences between Meyer and other objectors, he became his cantonment's dog-and-pony show of sorts, explaining his stance again and again to bemused military officials and, on several occasions, convincing his auditors that the objector's way was not only righteous, but right.

These meetings with the military brass afforded Meyer an unique opportunity to witness peace, something he well recognized. As with other Mennonite objectors, Meyer felt assured God had called him to the military for a purpose. He believed further that his education and his erudition gave him the tools necessary to make his testimony more widely heard. His status as a Harvard graduate and his demeanor gained him the respect of his officers, who in turn were more willing to listen to Meyer's arguments about the evils of war, and who were impressed--if not convinced--by the reasoning Meyer provided. In turn, because the officers respected and trusted Meyer, they offered him freedoms not granted the other objectors. For these reasons, Meyer's experiences during the Great War were much different from those of the objectors who had little freedom, who received no respect from their officers, and who could only ineffectively attempt to make their stance understood or appreciated.

Meyer's Great War diary documents this life of a Harvard Amish, a life so different from other objectors because of the respect Meyer gained from officers and fellow conscripts alike. His diary tells another Great War story; it shows how great a commodity status and education were in military camps, and so how many Mennonites, lacking the capital of a college or even high school degree, lost the freedom and regard given men like Meyer. At the same time, Meyer's diary suggests that despite the esteem granted him, he remained trapped by a system which refused to honor his conscience; remained victim to soldiers' taunts and the petty slurs of officers; remained separated from his family and community; remained idle and all but useless, his mind and his energy frittered away in detainment, his longing to do reconstruction work stymied by governmental red tape. Yet while Meyer's diary is a worthy historical document

because it notes the differences between his own Great War experiences and that of many others, the text holds value for the Mennonite Church as well. For not only does Meyer's diary trace his Great War journey, it also marks the inception of an important movement in the Mennonite Church. Meyer's criticisms of the church and its role during the war find voice in his diary, as does his hopes of creating new avenues of activism within the church. These murmurs of discontent in Meyer's text gave way to the eventual creation of the Mennonite Young People's Movement and to a transformation in the Mennonite Church.

Although Meyer in many ways defied Great War stereotypes about Mennonites, his was an upbringing similar to that of most other Mennonite objectors during the war. He was born and raised in Wayne County, Ohio, an area densely populated by Mennonites, where still today Old Order Amish may be seen driving their horse-drawn buggies down rural roads and highways. Like most Mennonites in Wayne County, Meyer's parents were farmers. His father, Jacob G. Meyer, immigrated from Alsace, France, in the mid-1800s, with the sole intent of farming on land offered him in Ohio; the land he purchased, in a flood plain, produced little beyond debt and hardship. Only after Jacob G. Meyer's marriage to Mary Conrad, and after their son Jacob's birth in 1888 did they move from what Meyer termed the "swamp farm" to a larger and more prosperous dairy farm. There, his parents raised their family, nine children in all, plus three from Jacob G. Meyer's first marriage.

Meyer's family played an active role in the Wayne County Amish Mennonite community, where his father's cousin, J.S. Gerig, was the Bishop. The Meyer family attended the progressive Oak Grove Amish Mennonite congregation, considered by Mennonite historian James Juhnke to be "one of the most volatile and innovative of all Amish and Mennonite congregations." In the 1890s, the church was not only among the first Mennonite congregations to hold revival meetings--a new, important, but controversial method to increase membership--but also created new lifestyle rules: its members could wear buttons in lieu of hooks and eyes, simple caps instead of hats, and the obligatory beard was no long obligatory; smooth-cheeked men were patiently accepted by church elders (Juhnke, *Vision* 39, 109). Thus Meyer grew up in the midst

of progressive Amish who surely informed Meyer's own firebrand progressivism, as well as his adherence to the church's central doctrines, nonresistance certainly among them.

Encouraging the education of its young seemed an important part of the Oak Grove congregation. Unlike Old Order Amish, who ceased formally teaching children after the eighth grade, many Amish Mennonites continued their education through preparatory school and beyond. Therefore, Meyer and several other young people from his community left the confines of Wayne County Ohio for Goshen College in Northern Indiana; his roommate and many of his classmates at Goshen would later be conscripted during the Great War, and a few--as Meyer's diary notes--received harsh Leavenworth sentences. In 1916, while war marched forward in its European slaughter, Meyer received a B.A. degree from Goshen. After graduating from Goshen, Meyer continued his studies at Indiana University and in 1917, he joined millions of American men in registering for the draft, receiving the lottery number 4,124,743. The high number assured Meyer that he would only be called to war if the fighting were prolonged, but also convinced him that his future was at best uncertain; better not to make long term plans, as his country could request him at any moment.

Nonetheless, in September 1917, while many of his friends embarked on their long journeys to military camps, Meyer transferred to Harvard University to begin work on a M.A. degree in history. While there Meyer met William Channing Gannett, a preacher and poet whose wife was a Quaker and whose sons were active in reconstruction with the American Friends. During a meal with the Gannetts on January 6, 1918, Meyer discussed pacifism with his new friends, as well as the current struggle of conscientious objectors in military camps. The conversation with the Gannetts was a transformative moment in the young man's life. One day after his meal in their home Meyer wrote of the discussion: "I am struck more and more every day by the fact that Mennonites are not the only pacifists and probably not the majority in most places." Although he saw a future in the military looming, although he knew he soon would need to make choices about wearing a uniform and working in the army, Meyer felt assured of God's providence: "I hope never to meet a situation in which it will not be possible for me to say 'In this

situation my Master did not go before me.' If hope cannot meet the situation how could despair do so?" (letter to Steiner, 07 January 1918). The new year, the impending arrival of a draft questionnaire from the government and then his relationship with the Gannetts brought these thoughts to the fore, compelling Meyer to make an important life decision: he too would toil in war relief work as did the Gannett boys. And so, in early March 1918, he began the application process to join the Friends in France.

Throughout the first months of 1918, Meyer continued his graduate education at Harvard, completing "theses" and studying for exams. He took an active role in Boston church life, but because there was no Mennonite Church at which to worship, he attended other congregations and was invited to speak at a few; his most interesting visit was to the "Christian Science Mother Church," where he heard Mary Baker Eddy's peculiar interpretation of scripture. Meyer was concerned with the militaristic message spoken in Boston's pulpits, and worried that when he was discovered to be "one of those detested Mennonites" he would be castigated; in the end, this was not the case (letter to Steiner, 03 February 1918). His pacifism did cause him some difficulty at Harvard, as he felt pressured to turn down a position as president of the Harvard Graduate Society because of his nonresistant stance. Since it would fall upon him to introduce decidedly militant speakers visiting Harvard, including Theodore Roosevelt, it was deemed Meyer would be unfit for the task.

Otherwise, life at Harvard continued apace. Like other men of his age not yet drafted, the specter of the army ever loomed ahead, making studies difficult. In a letter dated March 17, 1918, Meyer noted that grades were reported lower throughout the university, compelling Harvard's professors to "campaign" at young people's meetings to "stir up interest" in studies. However, Meyer wrote, "Too many people are not interested in their [school] work because they are thinking of war and the draft. This may give them a new view of life. They may see new realities" (letter to Steiner). Although Meyer continued to do "fine" on his exams and essays, he too was worried about the draft, and began refining and strengthening his argument for conscientious objection, all too aware that a strong argument would be soon needed. At the same

time, Meyer believed he could not decide with any finality what he would do if drafted. He concluded that he might not wear a uniform, and that he probably would not accept any work, but "I cannot express an opinion in so summary and definite a manner for *I have not been there* [in a military camp]" (letter to Steiner, 03 February 1918, emphasis his).

Though still hoping to be accepted by the American Friends Service Committee, Meyer discovered that because his father was a French citizen when he immigrated from Alsace and because Germany now controlled Alsace getting a French visa would be difficult--and so too, then, would be doing relief work with the Friends. Around this time Meyer also heard a rumor that he would be drafted on May 25, as would his younger brother Elmer. Therefore, he arranged to take exams early if necessary, and discovered that he could still graduate from Harvard even if he was called before the school year's end. Meyer decided to stay in Massachusetts until the government ordered him otherwise, but his mind was not wholly on his studies. To Esther Steiner he wrote "School work is going as usual except as we fellows here who are to be called soon say it is very interesting when we think that each day might be our last one at Harvard . . . The glories of the last day of school are a halo about us constantly" (12 May 1918). The rumor about being drafted before the school year ended was indeed only a rumor. Meyer was able to finish his degree in early June, 1918, then departed quickly for Ohio and home without taking part in graduation ceremonies, for a new rumor was afoot: he would be called to camp by June 25.

On his way home from Boston, Meyer stopped in Philadelphia to see Samuel Bunting, head of the American Friends Service Committee. There he also visited the French consul in an attempt to secure a visa, but was unsuccessful. Back in Ohio, June passed and Meyer was still at home, waiting for his number to be called. While he waited, he continued to seek a clear way to do relief work, requesting a passport and then receiving a release from his local board so that if possible, he could leave for France before being drafted. Time was running out, however, and Meyer knew he would soon be ordered to camp. In a final act of desperation, he wrote Secretary of State Newton Baker asking for help in getting a visa and clearance to go abroad. The letter to

Baker was too late; when reading the Wooster, Ohio, newspaper in mid-July, Meyer discovered that he would need to report for military duty on July 26, 1918.

Meyer spent the day before his departure visiting in his community, saying farewell to friends and family. His parents held a party for him and for Claire Moine, another man from the Amish community about to leave for camp. On July 26, his parents drove him in their family car to Orrville, Ohio, where he joined others in a caravan of six troop trains bound for Camp Jackson, South Carolina. Saying farewell to his aging parents was difficult, Meyer later noted. Meyer attempted to alleviate his parents' concerns about his future by refusing to shed "a single tear" and by "smil [ing] as I waved the last goodbye" ("Annotated" 1). The following day, while his train was parked in Augusta, Georgia, he wrote to Steiner

It is quite an experience to leave home for camp. I have concluded that the hardest part of the experience is for parents and for brothers and sisters. The one who goes is generally young and that is not true of many parents. Then too brothers and sisters seem to think one is going never to return. Of course this may be true but is that the most important? Is it as much how long we live as how we live? My mind centers on the latter. Do not forget the young men who must face some issues in the next few days. Pray not so much that we may not be tried out as that we may prove worthy the name which we profess. If we are to be in the front line in the fight for the ideal of Christ may we be spared the disgrace of not being faithful. (27 July 1918)

Even before arriving at camp, Meyer knew without a doubt what his mission would be, as a witness for peace, fighting not against evil but battling for "the ideal of Christ"; the battlefield language he uses--standing on the "front line" of this holy conflict--seems innocently ironic.

Troop trains pulled in to Camp Jackson in the early morning hours of July 28, 1918. Because of the general quarantine in camp, Meyer was placed in a regular barrack and so separated from many of the other "Wayne County fellows" who had traveled with him to South Carolina. Meyer had little trouble maneuvering the demands of army initiation: when he refused

to accept a uniform, an officer made a snide reply but caused little more trouble; when asked to drill, Meyer abstained and was politely dismissed; when inoculated, Meyer remained steady while other soldiers fainted around him. A psychological test proved a "cinch" for Meyer, who was also filling the idle time of quarantine writing letters home for the illiterate soldiers in his company. After one week at Jackson, Meyer reported that camp life was interesting. Food was good, even if pie and cake were "unknown quantities." Living in a tent was an aesthetic pleasure, reminding one of the beauties of a simple existence. Soldiers were as all other men; some were kind, worthy of his friendship, and some were "foolish and fickle." At any rate, Meyer observed that the soldiers whiled away their time in barracks doing "such stunts as boys are likely to do," smoking and playing cards, reading and conversing. It was true, some of his barrack mates and officers "laugh a person to scorn" for his conscientious objection, but that mattered little to Meyer, for he had already experienced ridicule in his life, and surely would again for holding such an unpopular opinion. "A really big man," he wrote, "can appreciate more than one view of life in a philosophical sense, but some thimble-brained folks think they possess the key to all knowledge and so they can show their ignorance and lack of intelligence by taking a scornful or humorous view of that which is beyond their mental horizon." Unlike other objectors who felt the weight of their officers' derision too heavy a burden, Meyer believed in the early weeks of conscription that he would sustain this optimistic perspective, and would not find being in the military a horrible experience. In fact, life at Camp Jackson was so agreeable to Meyer that, he wrote to Steiner, "If I could convince myself that the salvation of this old world lay in the application of physical force as is done on the field of battle I think I would make a capital soldier" (01 August 1918).

Finally, on August 12, 1918, Meyer was transferred to the conscientious objector detachment at Camp Jackson, and was again among brethren. There were about 100 objectors at Camp Jackson, Meyer reported, many of them east coast Quakers. Three days after his transfer, Lieutenant Hugh L. Caveness, no doubt impressed by Meyer's trustworthy demeanor and clearly established intellect, gave Meyer a permanent pass which allowed him to leave the objector

barracks whenever he wished, and provided Meyer free access to any part of Camp Jackson; in 1967, Meyer admitted he was probably the only conscript to receive such a pass at any of the three camps in which he was detained ("Annotated" 10). Because other objectors were confined to barracks and under the watchful eye of armed guards, Meyer was often sent out to run their errands: to deliver mail, to check out library books, and most often to buy goods from area canteens. He quickly became a liaison between objectors and military officers, typing up governmental reports for his lieutenant and doing military clerking duties while also voicing the objectors' concerns to officers when necessary. The dual roles little troubled Meyer, who remained steadfast in his nonresistant convictions but believed that he should still, to some extent, contribute to the army which held him--as long as he wore civilian clothes "so no one would mistake me for a soldier or am in camp by choice" ("Annotated" 3). In making this decision to perform some chores for military officers, Meyer cited 2 Thessalonians 3:10: "if any would not work, neither should he eat." He would continue to hold this position during his five month detainment, and would receive kinder treatment from officers because of it: so kind, in fact, that officers allowed his mail to be posted without censor, unlike all other objectors in the cantonment.

While at Camp Jackson, Meyer continued his efforts to go overseas with the American Friends Service Committee. In early August, 1918, he received a letter from Frederick P. Keppel, assistant to Secretary of War Baker, replying to the July 1918 missive Meyer had sent Baker. The letter reminded Meyer that, under penalty of law, he must report to camp when called--an irony of sorts, given that Meyer was already in camp. Keppel also enclosed the executive order of July 30, 1918, an order which made it possible for conscientious objectors to serve outside the military's authority. Officers at Camp Jackson were impressed that Meyer was corresponding with such a high ranking military official and, because no one else apparently had a copy of the order, officers often asked to borrow Meyer's document. The letter from Keppel had arrived too late, though: because Meyer was already in camp as an objector, he would now

have to receive the appropriate classification from the Board of Inquiry in addition to a visa if he wished to join the Friends' relief effort.

The Board of Inquiry was slow in coming to Camp Jackson, prolonging Meyer's tenure as a detained objector in sandy and hot South Carolina. Not much was happening at Camp Jackson, save for the constant preparation of soldiers for battle. And thus, like so many other Great War objectors, Meyer reported feeling lazy and useless even as he ran errands for officers and bunkmates. In a letter to Steiner Meyer noted

One of my friends here who is married wrote his wife and told her that she needs never expect him to furnish her anything along the line of support if he will always feel as he does now. If you know what laziness in Ohio is just multiply it by ten and then double it and you have it at about at the degree at which we have it. It seems to affect us all that way.

(12 August 1918)

As with objectors at other camps scattered across the United States, those at Meyer's cantonment attempted to stave off idleness by taking hikes, singing, studying their Bibles, and writing letters or reading; Meyer especially indulged in the latter pleasure, finding at the YMCA library books which could readily compliment his education. However, those who could not read or write were legion at Camp Jackson, Meyer said, and so had not that diversion to entertain them save when a literate man could provide assistance.

In October, 1918, that assistance became more formalized when officers ordered that Meyer and other college educated objectors create a school in their detachment. The officers believed the objectors "abnormal" and "lacking in education," and were convinced that a school would achieve several purposes; it might keep objectors busy while also providing them the education they sorely needed. Some of the men in Meyer's company opposed the idea, although Meyer does not say why. Still, the school went forward. Meyer and James Steer, a Quaker from North Carolina, ascertained the educational level of the objectors and then constructed a curriculum heavy in liberal arts, with typewriting and bookkeeping added as vocational

components. Meyer began visiting the camp library to compile reading lists and prepared lectures. By October 27, 1918, he was lecturing on "the development of civilization" to men who, by and large, had not received schooling beyond the eighth grade. Whether the school proved a successful experiment remains unclear. Meyer worried that when men were sent out on furlough, the school would "break up." However, he wrote to Steiner, "I think I shall try to keep it going for there are several men here who need it badly. Naturally it is not an easy matter to interest some of the fellows here but that only makes our part of the work greater" (27 October 1918). At any rate, with time, mention of the school disappears from Meyer's diary; one must wonder if, true to Meyer's concerns, it disappeared from the cantonment as well.

Meyer finally appeared before the Board of Inquiry on October 26, 1918, a mere few weeks before the Armistice. To arrange for his hearing, Meyer and his detachment had to be transferred to Camp Sevier, outside of Greenville, South Carolina. The Spanish Influenza had Camp Sevier in its grips, and soon many of Meyer's brethren were stricken and sent to the hospital. Meyer, who escaped the scourge, cared for those convalescing in the surrounding tents. The flu caused a spiritual crisis for many objectors, who worried about death and the possibility of perishing so far from family. They wondered whether their bodies would be shipped home, or would be buried in anonymous military graves. "The sight of the hearse several times a day, as it passed our camp site did not make the picture more cheerful," Meyer admitted to Steiner (20 October 1918). In an attempt to "to keep the gloom from causing the very disease about which" the men worried, Meyer attempted to humor his fellow objectors. At least one man, however, thought he was "going too far" in joking about their "condition" ("Objector" 90-91). Although Meyer several times received word from home that a community member had died from the Spanish Influenza, most of the men in Meyer's detachment survived; by the end of October, when the Board of Inquiry finally appeared at Sevier, the disease had all but vanished from the camp.

Objectors at Camp Sevier were examined on October 26 only by Major Walter Kellogg, the other two members of the Board having attended to duties elsewhere. Despite Kellogg's

clearly voiced belief that Meyer's intelligence was wasted on conscientious objection, Meyer respected the Major, adding this postscript to his diary: "Our experience before Major Kellogg was one that impressed most of us. He seemed to get more out of the men than an ordinary person would" (313). Kellogg classified Meyer as 1C, thereby recommending him for reconstruction. The way was once again open for Meyer to do relief work overseas. "Now I hope I shall be able to eat my Xmas dinner in Paris," Meyer wrote Steiner after his interview with Kellogg (27 October 1918).

A quick departure to France was not to be for Meyer, as governmental red tape and continued difficulties with the French consul in Philadelphia kept him at Camp Sevier well past the Armistice. Members of his group left for farm furloughs or for reconstruction work, but Meyer remained with a small band of Ohio objectors. Partings, Meyer admitted, were difficult: "Since we have been together for some time the fellows who leave find it rather sad to leave the rest of us. Those who stay all plan on going out soon too when they see someone go. So every change makes a break into the monotony of camp" (letter to Steiner, 03 November 1918). During November, Meyer spent his days clerking for the company lieutenant, writing up discharge papers and gathering military records for those still detained, hoping all the while for word of his own departure. In mid-November, Meyer even became "chief officer" of his detachment for a week while the sergeant was on leave, and so had to call roll in his company, march the men to meals, and supervise any work they did around the camp. He became in many ways indispensable to the officers in charge of objectors, helping them to dig out from beneath the heavy pile of paperwork which kept them in camp; his invaluable assistance in camp, he feared, would push his own discharge far into the future, as his officers would not let him go so easily when the time came.

Although Meyer attempted to sustain his energetic optimism, military life was starting to wear him down. He found his lieutenant lazy and unproductive, more interested in playing checkers than in speeding the discharge process. In fact, the entire army was ineffectual, Meyer complained, with its mounds of forms to complete. Records --like his own--were inevitably lost

or misplaced, compelling men to go through the nauseating rigors of inoculation again, or keeping men in camp long after a discharge was due them. To make matters worse, the officers had once more started pushing the objectors to accept work in the camp with the threat of the stockade should they refuse. The demand seemed unreasonable, given that the Armistice had been signed, given that the men had already been deemed sincere objectors by the Board of Inquiry, given that the men were only waiting to be furloughed or discharged.

Thanksgiving passed and Meyer was still at Camp Sevier. Christmas was rapidly approaching, and his hope of celebrating the holiday in France, or even at home, was waning just as quickly. Meyer continued to write discharge papers for other men, but could type up none for himself. Finally, word came that the last "Ohio boys" at Sevier would be discharged, but only after first traveling to Camp Zachary Taylor in Kentucky; the government had decreed that men should be discharged within 350 miles of their home communities. On December 23, a train finally pulled out of Sevier for the long journey to Kentucky, arriving at Camp Taylor on Christmas Day, 1918. Meyer and his friends spent Christmas receiving inoculations and medical inspections, taking as well the brunt of criticism from unfamiliar officers and soldiers. One day after his arrival at Camp Taylor, Meyer found his brother Elmer, who had been an objector in camp for six months. Together, the brothers waited--and waited--for the opportunity to go home. Although officers had promised Meyer he would only be at Camp Taylor 24 hours, a week passed before he received his discharge and boarded a northbound train. He arrived back in his home community on January 1, 1919. Meyer's homecoming was not spectacular as that of a hero; when he arrived at his parents' house, they were away at different funerals for local Influenza victims, so he began right away to do chores on his father's farm. Such was the momentous conclusion to five months in the army.

Because of his release from the military, Meyer was not required to do reconstruction in France. However, he continued to foster a desire to do relief work overseas, and war-torn Europe certainly continued to need volunteers like him. After fighting with the Philadelphia consul over a visa, Meyer finally received permission by the French consul in New York to

travel. He spent from January 21 to February 4, 1919, in Philadelphia, awaiting passage to France. On February 5, 1919, Meyer boarded the *La Lorraine* bound for Havre, France. A winter journey across the Atlantic was difficult, and one man died in transit; Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, making the voyage to France to visit her sons' graves, was among Meyer's fellow passengers. A week in Paris followed the docking at Havre, and then Meyer and other reconstruction workers were sent to the heart of wartime destruction, in the Verdun sector of the Hindenburg Line. Verdun had been destroyed completely, Meyer later recalled; "not one house . . . was fit for habitation" ("Preliminary Developments" 3). Meyer spent the next year building homes for war refugees, repairing as well the infrastructure which had been obliterated by the Western Front.

Reconstruction work in the Verdun sector was not Meyer's only legacy in France. He is no doubt remembered more by Mennonite Church historians for his role in the creation of the Young People's Conference, a role he assumed long before leaving America for France. In the latter months of 1918, Meyer had begun corresponding with other young Mennonites, many who were likewise detained in military camps and who were disappointed with the actions of their church leaders during the war. Some were concerned that they would be excommunicated from the church for wearing uniforms or accepting noncombatant jobs in military camps; some were upset that their ministers offered no encouragement or support while they were in confined. The confusing and often conflicting advice of church leaders also frustrated objectors, who had in Meyer's estimation been ill prepared "to witness to military officials." Their failure to teach nonresistance to the young was only compounded by the war, "when those who attempted to advise the young men were subjected to the penalties of the law" ("Preliminary Developments" 3). Meyer summarized these complaints in a letter to Steiner:

I know there is a Mennonite Committee now, but it seems to me it has not done a thing for the boys at Camps Sevier and Jackson. And as far as I am aware it has not done anything for the boys overseas in Reconstruction Work. Do you think that is giving the boys a square deal? I meet boys in camp who

have not seen anyone from home or a representative of the church since they came to camp. They need encouragement. (29 November 1918).

Although Meyer could "see only one side" of the issue because he was in camp, he still felt sure some Mennonite leaders had disappointed their young men--a claim he repeated in 1967.

Of perhaps equal concern to Meyer and other objectors, however, was what they perceived to be the church's insularity, the church's seeming concern only with its own vitality. Young Mennonites who had spent time outside of the small confines of their home communities in college or cantonments believed the church needed to more successfully reach out to, rather than withdraw from, the "worldly" kingdom. It nearly seemed that the church polity, in its Great War battles with the government and with each other, had suggested otherwise: that Mennonite objectors stand completely apart from other men, becoming almost insufferably self-righteous in their nonresistant stance. Meyer had taken a different tact while conscripted, and was convinced that more Mennonites should express Christ's message by immersing themselves in the world and its suffering, rather than removing one's self from it. Mennonites thus needed to more actively practice a social gospel and, according to Meyer, "help [ing] to alleviate the results of the first World War" was one place they could begin to spread the true message of Christianity ("Preliminary Developments" 1). Yet while the Quakers had quickly constructed a much-needed relief organization during the war, the Mennonite Church had done little, if anything, to provide assistance to war refugees in Europe. Any Mennonites wishing to do relief work, then, had to operate through the American Friends Service Committee without the much-needed encouragement or support from Mennonite leadership.

Meyer, although traveling to France under the auspices of the Friends, hoped to change that. While still at Camp Sevier, Meyer was appointed chairman of a group of objectors proposing to construct an independent Mennonite relief work agency. On November 24, 1918, in the midst of his correspondence with others interested in developing a Mennonite agency, Meyer wrote:

I think this is an opportune time for the Mennonite Church to prove her stand. To do so I think the Mennonites should take up some of the Reconstruction work themselves. I feel sure I could find a large number of young men who would go as soon as they get out of camp. They hesitate about going under the Friends Organization. And why should the Mennonites not do some independent work? I think there is material in the Church that should be utilized in this way. Some one suggested to me that the young men should be given the opportunity to work under a committee of the church. I replied that I am in favor but I see no reason why the young women should not be admitted on equal terms. There are some forms of social service where a young woman could be of much more use than a young man. (letter to Steiner)

This conviction remained with Meyer following his discharge. Before traveling to France, he continued to write Mennonite leaders and fellow objectors interested in war relief, outlining the difficulties young Mennonites were experiencing in the church and proposing the creation of a relief agency. Yet Meyer's departure for France, so long anticipated, arrived with his dream of an independent Mennonite relief agency still not realized.

In France, Meyer and other Mennonite objectors working in reconstruction began meeting and worshipping, sometimes hiking 25 miles one way to gather. Together, the group drafted a letter for the *Gospel Herald*, an Old Mennonite denominational periodical, suggesting what "The Church" could do in its development of a social and mission agency, and challenging Mennonite Church leadership to undertake the task. In June 1919, Meyer spoke to a gathering of Mennonite relief workers at Clermont-en-Argonne, voicing again his concerns about the Mennonite Church and its young people: that Mennonite youth wished to intact--through their engagement with the world--the Beatitudes found in Christ's Sermon on the Mount; that the church needed to provide avenues for its members to express the Christian message; that without those avenues, young people felt their energy was wasted. Those gathered at Clermont-en-Argonne, energized by the speeches of Meyer and other relief workers, constructed a

constitution for a new Mennonite group, called "The Mennonite Young People's Movement." In addition to its call for international Mennonite cooperation, the constitution proposed

that the new organization's purpose was to deepen the spiritual life of the Mennonite church, to study Mennonites' social responsibility as it had been experienced during the war, to promote Christian education, to provide relief and reconstruction, and to inspire young men and women to consecrate either lives to the conservation and extension of the principles of Jesus Christ.

(Homan 176)

To that end, several Young People's Conferences were held in the United States, in 1920, 1922, and 1923. Its message found voice in *The Christian Exponent*, a periodical published from 1924 to 1928. By the end of the 1920s, however, the movement had waned and the periodical folded as disruptions in church polity and financial difficulties proved overwhelming for the embryo organization.

For his own part, Meyer had galvanized church leaders by persistently challenging them to explore the creation of an independent Mennonite relief agency. His energy and leadership was much needed by young Mennonites following a war in which Mennonite youth many times felt abandoned by or alienated from their church; he was able to organize a talented and dedicated group of Mennonites willing to sacrifice their post-war lives for a humanitarian effort, believing such was what Christ would have them do. The Mennonites never did see Meyer's vision clearly in France, and the American Friends Service Committee remained the central channel through which Mennonite men and monetary resources flowed. Only in 1920 did the Mennonites create their own relief agency, the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC), formed to provide relief to Soviet Mennonites. With time, however, MCC became a cooperative Mennonite effort to alleviate suffering not only in the Soviet Union but in other war-torn nations and continues today as an important Mennonite agency intent on practicing a social gospel, just as Meyer had hoped would happen among Mennonites.

Following his time in France, Meyer returned to Ohio and taught for several years at Goshen College. In 1923, he married Esther Steiner, a friend from Goshen College to whom he had written so often during the war. That same year, he joined the faculty of Western Reserve University and in 1924, completed his Ph.D. in history from Harvard University. He remained a professor of history at Western Reserve until retiring in 1959. A consummate historian interested in the preservation of artifacts, Meyer saved a great portion of his lifetime correspondence, his lecture and reading notes, and any genealogical information he had uncovered; housed at the Archives of the Mennonite Church, these documents trace the remarkable life of an academician who served also as a lay leader for his church, goading her into change when such seemed necessary.

In the 1960s, Meyer returned to his personal archives, to his Great War diary and correspondence, with the intent of publishing an abridged World War I diary in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*. Blending together passages from his diary and from letters written at the time, "Reflections of a Conscientious Objector in World War I" was published in January, 1967. Despite its diary form, the *MQR* article did not wholly reflect the nature and spirit of Meyer's diary, given the author's own freedom to, as the journal's editor explained, "change wording and to shift materials from a strictly chronological order into topically workable blocks in order to give a representation of his experiences in shorter space" (79). Meyer himself believed such revisions of his diary were necessary if the text was to be understood. The diary was written in "cryptic language," Meyer admitted, using language "in such a way that no one inside or outside the camp would be involved in case the officers decided to confiscate it." Too many times in camp Meyer had been asked who gave him ideas about conscientious objection. Military officials hoped that in plying Meyer for information, they might also implicate someone via Espionage and Sedition laws. Meyer refused to name names in conversation or in his diary and thus he relied on what he believed a "cryptic" script to record his Great War experiences.

That Meyer felt it necessary to write his diary in an enigmatic way only adds to the importance of his text, showing how constricted the objectors' lives were in America's military

camps. After all Meyer, granted many more freedoms than other objectors, still feared indictment for himself and others should he openly express his feelings regarding the war. With the shadow of Espionage laws hanging over him, Meyer avoided writing his true thoughts in his diary, a discourse mode that by its very nature should allow for personal honesty. Still, decoding the cryptic language is not necessary to appreciate Meyer's World War I text. His diary readily notes the ways in which his intelligence, leadership capabilities, and his friendship with officers shaped his experiences at Camps Jackson and Sevier, making his detainment by the military much more positive and less oppressive than that of other objectors. At the same time, Meyer's diary also shows the ways his was an experience like all other objectors: he was scorned, forced into confinement and idleness, and constantly pressured into violating his conscience despite his intelligence, his leadership, and the conciliatory relationship he established with officers. Finally, the diary reveals Meyer's increasing frustration with his situation and with his church, as well as his longing to enact change among Mennonites and his belief that Mennonites, in turn, should be transforming a blood-thirsty world.

Meyer died in 1968 after a successful career as a professor, after raising four children, and after a lifetime of activity in the Oak Grove Amish Mennonite congregation. His name is briefly mentioned in Mennonite history books as the firebrand activist and "insurgent" leader who "stirred" Mennonite youth following the war (Juhnke, *Vision* 250) and in that stirring, pushed the Mennonite Church in directions it might not have intended to go. This seems to be his legacy, at least among the Mennonites. Yet Meyer's diary suggests he should be remembered for another reason: he was able to transform the militaristic men he met during World War I, just as he to some degree encouraged the church's transformation. Certainly the officers who demanded an interview with the Harvard Amishman did not drop their weapons, remove their chevrons, and take up a bunk in the objector barracks. As Meyer notes, however, many with whom he spoke were in some ways changed. Meyer exploded the familiar Great War myths about ignorant farm boy objectors, showing that the nonresistant stance was one an intelligent man could wisely embrace. Although during the war Meyer wanted badly to do

reconstruction in France, he also recognized that witnessing to others in his military camp "may be the place which God intend[s] me to fill" (letter to Steiner, 19 August 1918). Those who met Meyer at Camp Jackson and then at Camp Sevier may have been as incredulous as the regimental physician who could little believe the Harvard-educated could object to war. That Meyer proved otherwise became his testimony, the place God wanted him to fill. This Great War witness, too, must be seen as his legacy.

The Diary of Jacob Conrad Meyer

[1918]

July 25. Thurs. To Sterling to get can supplies. S.A. Slemmens gave a red cro kit. Visited at J.S. and John Gerigs. Also at Emmet Yoders and Christ Conrads. Ed Moine, Erzula Rich, Cy's D.S. and Noah Schrocks and C.H. Korbels called in evening Farewells.

July 26. Fri. Trip to Orrville. Tire trouble. Farewells at Orrville. Trip to Covington and partings on way. Thru old Kentuck.

July 27. Sat. At Knoxville for breakfast. Mules and cotton in Ga. Stop at Altanta also at Augusta.

July 28. Sun. Arrival at Camp Jackson. Weary. One man fell out of train. Assignment to company. Separations. A sort of lonely day because of tired feeling. Many new acquaintances. The early morning bath. First day in camp. [2] Many experiences. and examination. Most of men sore armed by evening. Several men fainted. C.O.'s questioned.

July 30. Tues. A warm day. Very little rain. Most men took uniforms. Four of us did not. Instructions read to us by Sargeant Springer. Picture of group taken in evening. C.O.'s told to leave ranks when salute of officers was practiced. Treatment by officers and non-coms very good.

July 31. Wed. After breakfast tents were furled and bunks prepared for inspection. Report or rumor that a safety razor was lost or otherwise removed. 44 men of company called to leave the group. Among those were all the men in same tent as myself. The rest of us given military instruction. Later we stretched up tents and move to barracks. Shie and I together.

[3] A heavy rain caused change in weather. First night's sleep in barracks. *good*.

Aug 1. Thursday. Reveille 5:45. Breakfast or mess at 6:00. Clean up around barracks. I was detailed to go to personnel office. Reported but worked nothing. Asked to report next day 9:00 a.m. at depot to take care of Chicago men. Sing in afternoon. Supper. Studied some French. Wrote several letters & cards one for Mr. Guy Mack who is an illiterate from Wooster

Ohio. Several of us went to infirmary to have tooth and shaving brushes sterilized; nothing doing. Cloudy evening.

Aug 2. Rain. Not many calls to line up. Due at Station at 9 o'clock a.m. Prepared tags for new arrivals. Ordered to appear at 7:30 p.m. to help locate 2500 Chicago men to arrive. Bring blankets to sleep. In the afternoon took Psyc. [4] exam. Two slow men led the ranks in going. Shie and I led them back post-haste until halted by commander. On double quick he again put on the brakes. Arrived home safe. Exam a "cinch." Rearranged in squads. Sargeant Springer commander of my squad. Several C.O.'s sent on detail as Kitchen Police. They refused. Shie & I thought we would at least take regular turns.

Aug 3. Saturday. Nice day: Cooler than usual. Worked down at station on the force that registers new arrivals. All I had to do in a.m. was to write complete names, addreses and asignments in camp of several companies. Questioned as regards my C.O. position. No difficulties. Dinner. Sent to Y.M.C.A. at 12:30 [5] by Sargeant Oakley. Ordered to do messenger service to 42nd Co. Back to Y.M. In a group of young fellows in line for Psyc. or Trade test service. Lieut passed me and several of us were given instructions. All O.K. until C.O. question was raised. Shall I accept uniform and a good position? Why or why not?

Washed after supper. Sat. p.m. holiday but not so for me. No mail from home. Feeling fine. Shie very anxious to see his bro. I was anxious to know what became of other Wayne Co. fellows. No use to worry or complain. First week in camp almost over. Experiences were great. No very trying ones. Fine treatment by most officers. Very few exceptions. [6]

Aug 4. Sunday. Not much doing. Taken over to get second inoculation. Postponed for Monday 8:30. Y.M.C.A. meeting at 11 oclock. Chaplain Murray talked. Fine dinner. Wrote letters in afternoon. No mail. Read some. Not very ambitious. Taken out to pick up paper etc after supper. Lieut did not come so we did not work at all.

Aug 5. Monday. a.m. Breakfast fine. Inoculation. Three fellows fainted. All felt it more than first shot. Called before Captain Devers as a C.O. He explained the stand of the army

as regards C.O. men. Work in barracks such as cooking and cleaning up required of C.O. men. Also saluting. Men who refuse this sent to tent. I was permitted to stay in barracks.

[7] Opinion of Capt. Devers extraordinary. (He gave us the regulations from laws.) A fine, clean, honorable, man. A worthy captain a credit to his country.

First mail from home. Letters from Zarraga, Giosa and a card from Harley. Most fellows pretty tame over second inoculation. Nothing special in evening. Shie took a sweat. Longshore rather sick.

Aug 6. Tuesday. Felt pretty good when I awoke. Not over the effect of inoculation however. Weather reported 115 in shade. Letters to Harry Liechty, Noah Schrock, S.J. Bunting, D.F. Meyer. Received a letter regarding C.O. men. Wrote a "love letter" for Mr. Guy Mack. Some experience. Also [8] wrote a letter for David Baker. He needed money & tobacco and could not write. Anxious to learn. Shie had several interviews with Capt. Devers. He decided to take uniform if case could be settled. No uniforms to be had. Shie fixed another auto for the officers.

Made a desperate attempt to locate Albert Schie & Clair Moine. Not successful. The day seemed rather long because we were so unambitious and sleepy. Anxious to know what would happen in the morrow for we are due to work again in the p.m.

Aug 7. Wed. A very hot day. Water scarce. On duty policing and cleaning up the grounds. No work to speak of all day. Holiday in p.m. Inspection in a.m. for genital diseases. Some men ordered to hospital for circumcision. C.O. men ordered [9] to appear before Captain Devers. Capt. showed many favors to me. Said he would recommend me for overseas service in A.F.R.U. Showed him order from Sec'y of War which I read on day before. Second Lieut. asked about Phi Beta Kappa. Also asked about ancestry. Capt. Devers said his ancestry also Alsatian.

Read Rossevelt's book "America and the World War" in p.m. Discussed C.O. position with Longshore et. al. All agree that there may be something in it. Why not work at some kinds of work? Difficult issue.

Report of quarantine extension on account of measles or scarlet fever. Not unite us if rumor is true. Shie before captain decides to take farm work. Wrote letter to Bunting also to D.S. Gerig. [10]

August 8. Thursday. Went to Dentist after getting an order from Company surgeon. Date for Saturday 7:45 a.m. Weather not so extremely hot. Quarantine for measles or Scarlet Fever at noon. Read "Bosworth's "The Christian Witness in War; Bucshnell's "The Character of Jesus: and the letters and conversations of Brother Lawrence--a Frenchman of long ago.

Wrote a "love" letter for John R. Hughes to Blanche Tyler. Brief discussion of C.O. position with Mr. Stork of Toledo. Discussed the divorce question with a Toledoan whose wife deserted him--as he says--before he came here.

Letter from Sister Clara in p.m. It told of [. . .] at Sam Detwilers. Mr. Detwiller in Class I. Nettie [. . .] in [11] Wayne Co. Husband in Camp. No work all day except helping to police around Y.M.C.A. in evening. Began to read H.G. Wells "The Soul of a Bishop" in evening. Shie rather anxious to get to doing something.

Health fine. Spirits good. Plan to go to foreign relief work still held in suspense. Answered letter to E.A.S. Treatment fine.

Aug. 9. 1918. Friday. On duty stringing beans for two hours in morning. Read H.G. Wells "Souls of a Bishop." It is a study of a bishop who begins life anew. One who sees the error of his way. The need of a practical spirituality.

Letters to V.S. Ram & O.B. Gerig. Also to J.S. Gerig enclosed in Shie's letter to Sadie. Shie got two letters. His first news. Chocolates to come for Schie soon.

[12] Played ball in afternoon. Rather vigorous exercise in Carolina heat. Thunderstorm seems approaching. Artillery practice heard.

Water scarce. Inspection for tomorrow announced. One man comes to our barracks from hospital.

Spirits fine in p.m. Ambition at low ebb in forenoon. War news favorable to allies. No move to C.O. camp in sight: Quarantine still on.

Aug. 10. Saturday. Went to dentist. He pulled a molar for me after asking the advice of the captain (dentist.) He was only an assistant who took the place of an absentee. After pulling the molar, for which purpose he made four hypodermic injections, he filled a wisdom tooth. It took almost two hours. Blood and saliva caused trouble. In P.M. Schie [13] and I got first permit to go to Y.M.C.A. I got two books "Alice of Old Vincennes" and "God the Invisible King" by Wells. Had finished Well's book, The Soul of a Bishop, and returned it. Well's ideas not bad but not fitted for the common folk whose education is not such as even to appreciate the philosophy of Wells. A long stroll on Sat. eve out to the F.A.R.D. Field Artillery Replacement Camp. Saw the old boys especially Kline. Felt good but weak.

Aug 11. Sunday. Appointed orderly in personnel room. Cleaned up and stayed in room all day. Tried to read and write but felt too weak and had headache. Attended Y.M. Bible Class and intended to go to evening Y.M. meeting but did not go. Schie got pitch on his shirt from a tree. That meant go home and wash. Retired early. Slept fine. Did not [14] know but had an idea that I would not spend another Sunday in Camp Barracks.

Aug 12. Monday. Mess and policing of grounds. Called out and taken to "Sing" in Jewish Y.M.C.A. opposite Liberty Theatre. Back to barracks. Next to inoculation board. "Shot" for third time and vaccinated again. Back for dinner. Called to appear before C.O. officer. Transferred to C.O. Camp. Letter from Esther A-- and a box of candy from Emma Smucker. Wrote to E.A.S. Mr. Shie, and Jennie. Bible Study.

Aug 13. Tue. Reveille and breakfast. A tear in trousers. Repairs. Furling of tent. Wrote letter to R.C. Stoddard Chm. Bd of Inquiry. Washed clothes. Dinner. Read in Atlantic. Studied French. In p.m. Andrew Miller and I got garbage can and supplies for our sergeant. Some boys refused to [15] work under a guard. Orders from Lieut Caveness to make room for 8 new men. Holmes Co. bunch arrives. Base ball mitt arrives and is used. Met Y.M.C.A. man: ordered Napoleon's Life by Rose. Met Y-M. Chief and an officer of our company. They try to persuade me to work. Know about me thru Capt. Devers.

First day in C.O. Camp. Weather was hot

Aug. 14. Fine day but hot. Wrote and read in morning. Also went after wood. Letter to Major R.C. Stoddard. After dinner collected money for mitt and baseball. Played ball some. Studied French and read. Bible study in evening. In good spirits.

Aug. 15. Not feeling clear in head when I rose. Lazy and tired until noon. Did not read or study much all day.

Mail from Elmer, Clara 2 letters B.C. D.F. and Bunting reported the [16] arrival of passport at Phila.

Lieut. Caveness interviewed me and gave me permanent pass. Went to Y.M.C.A. and Co "C" barracks. Letter informed me of death of Christ Conrad. Wrote two letters one home one to B.C. Discussed the "South" and Negro question. Boys all interested in Am. Friends Reconstruction.

Aug. 16. Letter to R.C. Stoddard to inform him of passport. Read in Mr. Crewe's career by Churchill. Letter to Blanch & B.C.M. Worked in Kitchen. In p.m. went to Y.M. canteen and post office for other boys. Two trips. Bible class topic patience. Asked to help arrange new topics. Letter to Clara. In good spirits.

Aug. 17. Washed and made several trips to canteen. Candy the most important article of trade. Took money orders to post office for two [17] C.O. men. Bible service--Paul.

Aug. 18. Sun. Tried to have S.S. but Lieut ordered men to get tents. Bible service in evening based on S.S. lesson.

Trip to Hospital to see Ed Graber. Found him convalescing but lonesome. Also saw Wayne Co. boys in Co. "H." They were under quarantine. Schie and I together at hospital.

Aug. 19. Mon. Letter for E.A.S. Lester H. Elmer. Card to Mina. Several trips to canteen. Made large purchase of candy. Talked with new lieutenant in C.O. position. Seems to think C.O. men are stubborn. They refuse to stand at attention or at parade rest. Plans of new Lieutenant.

Aug 20. Tuesday. Rearrangement of tents and street meant work for almost all forenoon and part [18] of afternoon. Worked in kitchen about two hours. One man taken to guard house

on account of a letter mailed surreptitiously (so rumored). Helped get supplies from company mess hall. Read in Mr. Crewe's Career. Worked in a.m. Trip to Canteen for supplies. In p.m. a lecture on military law and regulations--by new lieutenant. At roll call and retreat several men refuse to stand at attention. Names taken. Major Carrier and Lieut Caveness give us a visit. Spirits of men good--weather cool in early morning. Boys look for [. . .] trials under the regime of new lieutenant. Nofzinger goes to Personnel office on account of pay roll signing. Inspection during last two days very strict.

[19] Order not to spit or throw waste water in tents.

No mail for me but other men got some news which seemed very welcome.

Headache made me feel rather dull though my appetite was good. New arrangement of tent very favorable for me. Rumor that Major R.C. Stoddard will come in a week.

Aug. 21. Wed. Moving out and cleaning up in tent. Furling of tent. Inspection over and moving into tent. Baseball exercise. Read in Mr. Crewe's career. Men called out to get wood, others for psyc. examination and still others on account of pay roll.

To the canteen in p.m. and evening. Large orders. Candy \$11.20 for day. No mail. Letters to N.U. Schrock and J.H. Conrads. Cards to Tammy Graber and Harry Liechti. [20] Bible class in evening: Study of St. Pauls 1st missionary journey. The difficulty between liberal and conservatives. Barnabas, Paul and Mark. Haircut and shave. Several aeroplanes maneuvered over our grounds. Winslow taken away probably to guard house on account of letter.

Aug. 22. Orders to shake blankets as a part of morning clean up work. A short period of Baseball exercise. Miller taken away because of some difficulty which seems to have originated in his company. Several men refuse to stand at attention at retreat. Lieut. places them in last tent from which I and several others had been moved to fill up other tents. I was place in tent with *Russelites*.

[21] Martin H.D., Cecil, Hinshaw et al. under guard in last tent. Given bread and water for supper. My first night in new tent. A long interview with Lieut. He showed me order of

Sec'y of War for June 1st. Are the men who refuse to stand at attention at retreat defiant or not?
Section one or two.

The stand of the non resistant man discussed, Socrates, Savanoth, Roosevelt. The ignorance of the group discussed. What is to become of me and others? When does military law and civil law meet? Is standing at attention a military courtesy or a civil courtesy? When and where shall I serve? Lieut gave me Manual of arms. Also told me to call out mail [22] other men anxious to know what our interview was all about. I tried to explain the clash of authority and order of Sec'y Baker. My impression was that Sec'y Baker's order is not easily interpreted. In a sense every man in C.O. camp might be classed as defiant yet that would make the order nil.
-- Bible Study. Paul.

Aug. 23. Friday. Cleaning up and moving bunks out. Baseball practice. Order men out to get wood. I was called out of rank and later asked to help seal letters of outgoing mail. Lieut. remarks as he reads "These men try to be martyrs yet they never had things better." A man called to ask men of a certain Co. to sign pay roll. When men came back from trip [23] to get wood they are called in but do not sign pay roll.

The men who were under guard in last tent given regular meals but segregated from us. Bath for all men.—Hoorah!

C.O. dog taken away. Some reports of men from several camps--Upton-Devers, Dix, Meade-Sherman, Grant, Taylor-Gordan-Jackson (?) furloughed to farms. My letter from D.S. Schrock reports Hartzler boys Leichty, Cora and Kurtz already out. Boys all much interested. Looking for Stoddard and Aaron Loucks. Old order men asked to shave beards off. They explain their stand. Orders that inspection comes tomorrow. Read part of Silas Marner. One of cooks called me in to talk things over. He seems [24] sympathetic with my view though he may be a sort of detective. Who Knows? Moral is be a rational man at all times. Sincerity is never out of place.

Philosophical discussion with Jordan--Russellite. He denies a belief in Evolution. I try to explain to him that "like produces like" "no duplication" and "Survival of Fit" are the laws of

Evolution. Those three law he practically admits. He argues that species are fixed. I ask who fixed them? Who can classify animals or plants? Is sponge plant or animal?

Bible Class. Paul's second journey. Vision at Troas. Roman citizenship, claim at Philippi--At Athens etc. The place of women now & then. Old order men present for first time.

[25] After Bible Class, Russellites raise questions of Hell. Fire & Brimstone. Deny everlasting punishment. I take stand. Live right each day. Let the future in God's hand.

I also take view that after life is "disembodied memory" a figure of speech. Every day spent out of harmony with Infinite is lost forever--therefore hell is eternal suffering for a loss which is irreparable. God's justice and mercy demand that sin be punished. My opponent cannot but acquise but argues that I deny a literal hell fire. I explain that "literal and material" are terms not in any way applicable to the future existence. Finally lights go out and Russellites seem to be at end of their argument. They gain a point when I deny literal hell [12] fire but lose the whole case when I say time spent out of harmony with the Eternal cannot be made up and therefore punishment is everlasting--eternal, forever, time without end etc. No answer to my stand. On the whole the argument of all men here seem to be not their own but borrowed and bookish. Adams fall--Gods power over Satan and Future life seem to them the vital issues. I claim live right today. Trust God for the future.

Aug. 24. Inspection day. Bunks out policing about tents. Inspection of shaves, belongings etc. Several men asked to wash clothes and shave etc. Silas Marnier. Big "Wash" in afternoon. Three trips to Canteen. \$8.90 worth of candy. Many men taken away for Psyc exam [27] etc. Apparently major Stoddard is coming and this is done in view of his coming.

Read in p.m. Interesting. Bible Study. Lieutenant absent at retreat. A "subby" to take his place. Most men in pretty good spirits.

Aug. 25. Sun. "Pegram" a private acted as commander of police force in a.m. Hard to get men to work. Call for potato peelers. Toilet took a long time. Sunday School 10 oclock. A large crowd. Action rather than confession stressed.

Several men argue theology in p.m. Wrote letters to E.A.S. Adella, and Mrs. Felzer.

Return of C.O. dog. Poor dog. Courtmartialed: taken to stockade. Guards refuse to kill it. Sent to farm on "furlough" to live with [28] Negro. Bible study. Paul's third misionary journey. Bound to go to Rome.

Aug. 26. Mon. Reveille--breakfast and policing. Base ball practice. Men taken to get wood. I called to Lieutenant's tent. Asked to witness at courtmartial of several C.O. men who refused to stand at attention at retreat. I was asked to testify that a non-com told them to stand at attention. Trip to woods after poles to build railing around tents. I belonged to chopping crew. Lieut cut one tree. Negro gave us orders to cut no more. Trip home carrying timber. Asked to sign pay roll. I stated I would to avoid them trouble but I would send money to Sec'y Baker. Told to sign. refusal roll. Did so with understanding.

[29] Read Silas Marner. Went to P.O. and Y.M.C.A. also canteen. Read "Blue Bird" by Matenlick. Bible Study. Life of Paul. His trials. Discussed stand of our lieutenant with Lantz. Also question of rights of C.O. men according to order of Sec'y Baker.

Aug. 27. Tues. Washed in a.m. Most of C.O. men taken to bath house. Read "Blue Bird" and exchanged it for Kipling the "Light that Failed." The latter seemed interesting. Letters rec'd from Mrs. C.B.F.--E.A.M.--E.A.S.--C.E.M. and card from O.R.L. Bible class lesson on Pauls last trip to Jerusalem. His reception and imprisonment.

Aug. 28. Wed. Policing in A.M. Built a clothes line. Sent by Lieut. Avery to get mosquito nets. Pegram and I could not carry them all so we [30] Lieut sent a detachment under Pegram to get "nets" I bought a paper in first trip. Read in "Light that failed." Nets issued. Some fellows go to woods for "bows" on which to fasten nets. Several men called before a man from Phila. in presence of Lieut Caveness. I was first. He asked me my view as regards the C.O. position. He presented no new argument but re-iterated those which had been repeated to me over and over for years.

In evening Lieutenants Caveness and Avery had several interviews. "Boys" report that prisoners are not to be fed in our mess hall as had been rumored. To canteen where a report that no buying in large quantities is allowed. I was successful to get almost all I wanted at second

“canteen.” Mailed a letter to E.A.M. and card (views of camp) to E.A.S. Got Iliad in exchange [31] for Silas Marner.

Bible Study Acts 26-27-28. Lieut Caveness ask me for C.O. order of Sec’y of War. Returned it later. *Good night.*

Aug. 29. Thurs. Cloudy. Barnes absent at roll call. Sentenced to K.P. but refuses to work. Later sent to last tent by himself. The reason for the sentence no doubt was his reply when asked what he was doing. He said I’m p--ing. Vulgarity. Barnes on bread and water but I was given permission to buy candy for him.

“War” in camp. The major who controls the area demands that the prisoners be fed in our mess hall. Avery & Caveness object. I was called in by Avery and interviewed Caveness came and I was dismissed for the moment. Caveness asks for my C.O. order of Secy Baker. Avery asks for further interview. [32] He wonders what my interpretation of “preparing food” is. He also wonders if K.P. men would work for prisoners. I said I thought they would for one day but not long. Finally new K.P.s come. C.O. K.P.’s sent out. Now no kitchen work for C.O. men. Avery explains situation. Two majors one over C.O. men and one over area. Second tries to take advantage because first is absent for 15 days. Much discussion. Area major “calls Avery” down” before C.O. men. Avery & Caveness argue with major. Mess kits issued to C.O. men. Both C.O. men and prisoners use kitchen. Avery asks for all C.O. orders etc in my possession.

We got bows for mosquito bars issued yesterday. a.m.

[33] In p.m. went to canteen and P.office. Mistake in change by \$1. Got the dollar from negro in canteen later. Sold six boxes of candy to boys. Also other things. Read Kipling “Light that Failed” Spoke to Willie Clark. Heard Rob’t Stiener went home in anticipation of going to France. I asked Avery if Barnes could have candy. He consented.

Bible study. Thou shalt not lie. Why not? Mr. Steel from Tuscarawas County present. He had just come today and did not know of our segregation.

First night under mosquito bar.

Aug. 30. Fri. Worked in a.m. Two trips to woods to get poles and boards to fix tents and grounds. Tried to write letter to E.A.S. Not successful in getting it written because I was [34] called out twice. Order that no boards be kept under beds.

In p.m. worked around tents and streets. Lining up in tents. Pegram & I plan to take bath after supper. Went to canteen before supper. Also brought several boxes of candy after supper while coming home from bath. The other boys went for baths with Pegram. Bible Study.

Aug. 31. Sat. On latrine detail. Finished reading The "Light that Failed." A peculiar ending. The hero dies on field of battle—blind. Men work on tents—lining them up. Schlabach (Levi) seems to be boss. Washed my crepe shirt and blue trousers.

In p.m. went to Y.M. to get some magazines. Also mailed letters. Went to lumber pile (waste) to get wall board for the fellows who [35] want them for their suitcases to rest upon. A heavy rain interfered with latrine orderly job. Trip to canteen for candy, bananas etc. Letters from J.B. Cresman, Mina and Mrs. Krabill [. . .]. Bible Study.

Sept. 1. Sun. Pegram calls roll. S.S. at 10:30. Mess sargent gave me pineapples extra for dinner. Argument with Jordan in a.m. on annihilation vs. death. Sunday School lesson on giving. In p.m. went to see boys of Co.H. also saw Frank Schie and *Glenn Gerig*. Talked with Ray Eschleman and Clair Moine especially. C.O. position and cap't of Co.H. Supper "not great." Bible study.

Sept. 2. Mon. Lined up tents. Worked almost all day. Read "Kenilworth" Several canteen trips. Canteen closed 12 n. to 6 p.m. Rush back to canteen after [36] 6 p.m. Logan berry juice etc. Trip to Y.M.C.A. in p.m. Reports that we are to be moved soon with depot brigade.

Sept. 3. Tuesday. Washed. Not thru when called in by Lieut. Call for volunteers to put clay in mess hall brought no result. Why not the question he asked me. All called out and the Sanitary order explained. Some few men volunteer. Three four horse (mule) leads brought. Some men work especially the "Amish."

In p.m. clay placed in tent of Lieut. And the tent of "Amish." I used Lieut gloves.

In p.m. at retreat Lieut. reprimanded in general those men who take the roll call as a joke. Trip to canteen and P.O. twice. Saw the Shie Mr. Mack and men of Co. "H."

Letter from O.B.G. reported Steiner, Stoltzfouz and Oswald on way to France. OBG mess Sargeant. Gerber cook. Bible study [37] in Galatians. Are heathen lost? Class letter came Sept 2.

Sept. 4. Wed. Answered class letter. Men who did not work yesterday called on to dig latrine and do other work. A warm day. Did some figuring for the cook who is doing work in cooking school. One of the prisoners who worked on ditch fainted and was carried away.

On eve of Sept 3d mosquito bar inspector called. Asked Gobel what good "his bar did" if he kept his face uncoverd. When Weston was told to put up his mosquito bar he said "D'ye know who I am" Officer said. "Don't make any difference." Put up your bar.

Sept. 5. A fine day but warm. Several of men make mail box and furniture for Lieut. out of boxes from supply sergeant and a box I got some bananas in on eve of Sept 4. Very little real work done. In p.m. I read in Kenilworth as well [38] as Book of Galatians. On eve of Sept 4 Clair & I planned trip to see Warren Bodager. We took the hike on eve of 5th so I missed Bible study. I had at 4:30 p.m. an interview with one of the Henshaws (Sanford I think) on Committees for Bible Study.

Bought \$2.75 worth of apples and \$6.70 worth of candy from canteen. Mailed letter to Jennie. Rc'd a letter from E.A.S. from Sugarcreek. She seemed in good spirits after the Medina Convention.

Our call on Warren B. was a successful venture out. He is ass't mess sergeant and they had a banquet. Leavings--pie and ice cream "came" to us. We talked matters over--all in good spirits. On way home Clair and I had a sort of confidential talk on C.O.'s. Also met (Lewis?) Walter in same brigade as Bodager but in different [39] Company. He told of fall of Fred Marbach etc. During night I heard many men halted by guards. Conclusion Some strict orders from "above"

Sept. 6. Sale at canteen. I bought about \$5 worth of soap and shoe polish. Bought Waterman pen for Mr. Andrew Miller. Clerk made extra change. Took my \$5 for a \$10 I had \$5 extra and did not know how or why. Tried to cash N.Y. draft for Brenneman—must be signed by Lieut. Also failed to cash money order for Candle. He must first endorse it in full. Bought Parker fountain pen \$4.00 value for \$3.00. Sold it to McClure for \$3.00. Got orders to buy many more but after supper the canteen clerk would not sell at 1/4 off except one kind of pen—the Edison. Bought [40] more soap, shoe polish, and such articles at reduction.

Sept. 7. Sat. Inspection passed off nicely. My tent group cleaned up street. To canteen to buy Moore pen fine point for Noah Beachy. Bought U.S. pen for Mr. Wenger. Exchanged it for his fine point in p.m. Returned \$5.00 to man who made mistake on day before. Changed \$10 check for Brenneman and \$1 P.O. order for Candle. Wahed on Fri. eve. rain on Sat a.m. made wash wet. Bought a pen for 150 for White. Trip in rain after supper to get \$6.00 worth of candy at one canteen and \$1.30 worth at another. Had bought \$2.40 worth in forenoon. Rain all night a heavy bombardment kept us soaked a while. Good night to sleep. [41] Letter from E.A.S. told of experience getting home from Ohio.

Sept. 8. Sunday. Rain all night and Sun. a.m. not very agreeable in tents. Spent a.m. in S.S. writing letter to J.N. Smucker, and in cleaning up. Ice cream, cake, pie & lemonade for dinner. To Co. "H" in p.m. Paul C. Clair M. Shies and Eschlemans there. Returned to camp about 4 p.m.

Not a very interesting or pleasant day. Evening meeting held in tent no. two. Good attendance.

A good night to sleep.

Sept. 9. Mon. Damp in morning. I began anew at Kenilworth. Read from p 162 to p. 310. Greater interest than at first. We were not called out all day. Caveness called in a.m. Troyer trying to get furlough paper signed. I asked Lieut. Avery about taking a hike. He said boys could go for bath but no decision on hike. Bought Moore pen for Yoder. He [42] asked me to get a finer point pen which I did in p.m. While at canteen in p.m. met Caveness who asked me

to take mail. Several packages. Four letters for me also a fountain pen which I had repaired. Sent Elmers pen home. Insured mail 10c. Bath after supper. Also second trip for mail. More trips to canteens than usual. \$3.00 worth of apples. Many small articles.

Boys play ball in evening. Bible Class of great interest. What is difference between view and vision. Was Amos a real prophet? How recognize a prophet today?

Sept 10. Got up a little late after a good night's rest. Cool and damp morning. After breakfast I read in Kenilworth. Very interesting. Called out for a "hike" of about ten miles. [43] Very interesting scenery. Cotton field ready to pick. "Niggers" at work. At the end of trip boys discovered some "muscadine" grapes—a luxury. All men in good spirits on hike. But many tired after return. Sleepy bunch in p.m. I went to canteen. Bought tablets at a reduction. Second trip to buy fountain pens. 4 for \$5 also about 35 tablets 2 for 15c. Third trip—all goods up to former price—no purchases of pens etc.

Lecture by Major Carrier on furloughs to farms and for A.F.R.U. To canteen to buy candy and other articles. Found three feather pillows. Left them at supply house. Other soldiers wanted them. Candy 6c a piece. A good supper. Trip to canteen after supper. Lieut Avery gave talk on farm furloughs—Sent [44] out my application for A.F.R.U. Bible class very interesting. Study of Amos completed. Hosea the next assignment. What about Zionism and messianic prophesy.

A visit from Clair M. He, Schie, J.C. & Ray Eschliman, Nussbaum & Eberly moved to regimental infirmary. Clair in good spirits. Hope to see him again soon. Some excitement regarding furloughs.

Sept. 11. Wed. Clear cool morning. A trip to canteen and Y.M.C.A. in a.m. Read Kenilworth. Some interesting parts. In p.m. long trip to canteen near Bodagers company. Candy sold 6c a box straight. Also bought other articles. To canteen after supper. Not much of great interest all day.

Bible class lesson in Hosea of great interest. Several new men came to C.O.

camp--four of them and one on day before. Several [45] from Ohio. One from N.Y. Cornell man.

Sept. 12. Thurs. As usual except I washed a large wash. A lecture in mess hall by lieutenant. What about non-com work? The pacifists and their faulty philosophy.

Finished Kenilworth. Ending not very pleasing. French class began. Argument of soul of man. If man's soul is gift of God or a part of God, does God suffer in hell? Old stuff.

Letter from Gerig of great interest.

Bible class of interest. Hosea's charge against the priesthood. One *company* man who is a C.O. listened to our discussion and though not inside he really was present.

Sept. 13. Fri. A nice day. of much work in morning. Bath at 10:30. I went to canteen to buy some [. . .] and purchased. Letters to Aruarraga, Clara M. Striad Miss Brosser for Gerig. Letters from Clara and Mr. Maxfield Howard. Card from Miss Wheeler. French class in p.m. Pretty fair work. Read some in Iliad during day. At 4 p.m. a trip to canteen.

After supper I played ball. Then discussed heaven & hell ideas with Christadelphian. He and Russellites challenge the right of scientific interpretation of Bible. How can each man make his own God? How else can it be. Revelation or reason.

Clair and Warren call on me. Only a brief but very pleasant interview. May have been last in Camp Jackson. Bible class lesson very much interest shown. [47]

Sept. 14. Sat. Inspection. prepare to meet thy lieutenant. All o.k. Trip to see Warren B. Clair et al in p.m. with Schie who had come to our street by permission from a guard. We were playing ball. Schie and I go to the Co. "H" and see Graber in canteen. Next to see Warren, then to Infirmary to see Clair et al. They seem satisfied. On return I bought a suitcase and other articles.

While with Clair we discussed the Y.M. with a Jew.--a pessimist. Bible class well attended.

Sept. 15. Sunday. Fine day. Sunday school in a.m. "Witnesses for Christ." In p.m. I went to a little reunion at the barrack where Clair et al are located. Met Frank Schie and Warren Bodager with the boys. In the evening Bible class of interest Lieut scarce. "As we studied we got more light." A bath and I retired. [48]

Sept. 16. Mon. Read in Iliad. The first three books are good reading. Have not read further. Trip to canteen to get suit case and a large order. Major Carrier offers some boys a proposition—to farm on a very large farm of a company near Charleston S.C. Some object. The plan seems to be one which would make the furloughing an easy matter.

Sept. 17. Tues. Washed a big wash. Read in Iliad. Major Carrier and (Mr. McCrea) heard of farm furloughs called me in for an interview after dinner. He wanted to know my view. Made some rather sarcastic expressions about Mennonites. Men from Charleston here to size up our bunch of boys. The proposition is to ditch a large farm and eight men wanted by large scale farmer. Most of boys slow to accept. In sport some fellows "sell" the boys from [49] the block. Canteen work very heavy. Apples, bananas, \$4.00, lemons, candy, stamps. New men in nearest canteen and prices good. Bought 11 prs. B.V.D.'s at 75c. Sold them all.

Bible Class on Luke. Ist chap.

French class of five. Great interest.

Sept. 18. Wed. Washed blue serge trousers and blue shirt. Rain in a.m. Read Iliad. Of great interest. A trip to Y.M. \$2.10 in stamps in a.m. lost track of pass. Second trip to get pass which was at tent. Bought apples and Bananas then three boxes of candy at \$1.20. In p.m. sent for 5 boxes thru Rockwell at \$1.20. Went to get suitcase for Guthrie at \$3.00. \$1.50 worth of apples \$2.00 stamps 3.00 suitcase. etc.

Weather fine but hot after rain.

Sept. 20. Fri. Read in Iliad 100 pp. Cloudy. Rained about 6 p.m. In p.m. made trip to canteen for candy. Some apples. Long day. [50] the other fellows were called out by fire whistle. French class lesson in stories of France. Letter from Elmer.

Sept. 19. Thurs. Read 100 pp. Iliad. Nice day. Several trips to canteen. No special developments. No mail. Furloughing proposition seems dead.

Sept. 21. Sat. Inspection morning. Weather cold and men talk of winter. Hike after inspection. Saw a red head woodpecker. In p.m. went to canteen several times. Bought \$15.60 worth of candy. Other articles about \$8.00. In afternoon men bought views of camp for 20c from boy. Big sale. Reports of moving to Greenville again current. I had headache in p.m. Made on trip to stockade to carry mail after dinner. Saw our old friend Barnes. No French class this p.m. Read some in Iliad. Letters from Noah Schrock's, J.R. Allgyer, [51] O.R.L., Fannie Conrad. Card from Clara gave Melvin Rich's address.

Bible study. The divinity of Christ. The growth in wisdom and stature. Cold night.

Sept. 22. Sun. Cold morning. Tent 6 group rake street. S.S. at 10:30. Fruits of Christian Life. Call to mess. Food supply short. I got extra on ice cream. Some objection to dinner. Lieut brings his wife to Orderly tent. Some excitement. A trip to Y.M.C.A. to mail letters to Elmer. E.A.S. John Moine & E.E. Miller. Supper rather light was given an appendix of bread and molasses. I was among the lucky. [52]

This Sunday was a fine day but cool. I did not feel as well as usual but in general I was not sick. Clair, Warren, Ray Eschliman, Fred Ramier et al called on me in eve. Bible class conducted by Mr. Steere—I was quite late. Legain was taken away.

[Beginning of Book Two]

Sept. 23. Mon. Cold morning. At 5:45 call of bulger for those due to move to Sevier. I arose and dressed. Alvin Breneman told me time so I went back to sleep. Before call for roll I met Frank Miller at latrine. He was not at all well--had not been for several days. On Sunday eve 22nd several callers at orderly tent on account of moving to Sevier. Mr. Legain was removed from our group probably to serve a 10 year sentence at Leavenworth. He had a court martial because he did not appear when called by local Board. Many rumors on Sun. eve. Clair, Warren, Ray Eschliman, Fred Ramier et al. called on me. Mess sergeant treated us with cream except Clair & Warren who came too late.

Finished Iliad Monday a.m. Also brought apples from canteen for fellows.

After dinner boys were called out—only those who had been recommended for farm work wanted to sign papers as to wages. All Boys went for bath. Then to office of Carrier only those for farm work in latter. [2] Carrier told them of their farm furloughs and their furloughs home until Oct 2nd. Great excitement and many anticipations. “Home”. Bible Study interrupted by bombardment of “taters” Pegram later reports it was due to our singing which interfered with violin music in Orderly tent. Retirement a little anxiety because of potato bombardment.

Sept. 24. Tues. Several early bugle calls. Moving to Sevier probably the cause. I was asked to escort men to “urine dump” and trash dump. Rockwell had left us on day before. Also looked after latrine orderlies.

Furloughed men prepare to go home. They hand in their goods. etc. Leave before noon. Some tears shed in the “parting.” The boys who left for home were anxious to go home but some feared the “turtle farm” as [3] they nicknamed it. In the afternoon we prepared to leave for Sevier thinking we would go in the morning. By night we found out that we would not leave until Thursday morning. Since the 21 fellows left we felt a little lonesome but in pretty good spirits. Rumors were current that the men who had appeared before the Board but had not yet been sent out would be sent out ere we left for Sevier. Bible Study well attended for the size of our group.

Sept. 25. Wed. Cleaning up and policing. To trash dump and urine dump. Arranged for latrine orderlies etc. At trash dump one of the fellows found a U.S. granite cup which was given to me. Hurley found a traveling bag, several shirts, and other articles. The ten men who had appeared before Board were called out several times and all the arrangements were made to furlough them to a cotton mill [4] in Ritter South Carolina. The furloughs were not completely arranged until 8:00 p.m. At that time Caveness came to give them out. Lt. Avery was gone but Mrs. Avery was in Orderly tent. When the furloughs were to be given the fellows asked for extensions after Oct 1st. This was not possible. The question arose “Where are the men to go until Oct 1st.” Money was scarce. Di Rienza (Vincent) said “I no got some money” “I don’t

know where to go." Finally Anderson, Hurley & Gable left for home. Other seven stayed to go directly to Ritter.

A short session of Bible Class. Devotional entirely. Retirement with orders to get up at 5:00 a.m.

As for meals we got nothing until 10 a.m. Lt. Avery was to have arranged for meals but when Pegram took the fellows over I was left as [5] gaurd but when they returned they looked like hungry wolves. While they were gone I read several chapters in Luke. Even as it was we had gotten up late. Arrangements were made to have us cook our own meals for one day. Mess Sergeant and cooks try to get into kitchen but are ordered out and Harvey Hinshaw acts as Mess Sg't. A big meal at 10:00 and a second at 5:30 p.m. Before supper Lieut. Avery took emergency addres of each man.

I made many trips to the canteen to get apples and other supplies. Returned back to Y.M.C.A. Also played horseshoe. Theo. Miller and I vs. Steer & Anderson. We beat them. I washed in morning and took bath at night. Some of boys climbed large ladder of Y.M.C.A. Had a short talk with Sgt Parrish. He had not been very kind [6] to the boys. During night I woke at 12:00, 3:00 and at 4:45. I called out the bunch. We slept fairly well but as we emptied our straw the day before we had poor beds. An extra blanket was issued to each man to keep warm. All goods ordered to be packed preparatory to moving to Sevier. I helped Major Carrier's orderly nail up a box while waiting to get a Reg. letter for Enos Moore. I finally got the letter after calling for it three times at the S70 post office and once at Jackson Circle office.

Sept. 26. Thurs. Up at 4:45. Brenneman and I called men. Policing up. Several men went to dump. General cleaning up. Cracker sandwiches for breakfast. To the train with goods. Some of us helped to carry the Major's goods. Staunton and I made last trip to old street. We picked up some souveneurs in Avery's tent. Post [7] card not properly marked. We tried to buy at Canteen, but man would not sell before 8 oclock. Off to station. A long wait. Maj Carrier gave us some of his hand baggage carried a hand bag until we boarded train. He was in car No. 3. I in No.4 and so as soon as I was on train I carried it to him. Off for Sevier at 9:10. Arrived

at Columbia 10:10. Left Columbia 10:45. Arrived at Sevier about 5:30. A fine trip. We got a sandwich and an egg for dinner but we bought apples, etc from venders. On trip we watched my compass so as to keep straight. We met some men who made the trip from Camp Jackson to Sevier via Ford. On our arrival at Sevier we were met by about 25 guards and were escorted to our tents in the 47th Co. Some hike. We were called prisoners and kept in line for once. Several men almost gave out but we finally got [8] there. At first we could not get out of our tents but soon all guard was removed. Weston almost caused trouble by insisting on being out of the tent. We assigned the cots and had "some" sleep on the new folding field cots.

Supper was served in the 47th Co. Mess Hall. A very good meal and a fine reception. Some of our men helped to clean up in the kitchen.

A big rain interfered with our sleeping. A busy day with many events.

Sept. 27. Fri. Breakfast: A cloudy day. General inventory of stock by each man. Orders to move. Several men ordered to go to prepare the new place. The rest of us took baggage over to new site about 80 rods. Two trips. Tents set up and cots arranged. The whole day was spent in a general clean up. Caveness and Avery do the "bossing." A fine spirit [9] among the fellows. Every body works. Some arrange their own tents. while others work on all sorts of jobs. Division of men in tents causes dissatisfaction among some. Who shall sleep in tent with McCoy and Weston? Mess hall looked good but soon a mess s'gt and cooks moved in. Our fellows hoped to do their own cooking. Guards placed near us but not for our benefit exactly. The fence about our site was arranged. After a big days work we retired and slept fairly well. During the forenoon we had filled our straw sacks which made the sleeping more comfortable. I located in last tent with Diller, Moore/Enos/Miller (Andy), Brenneman, Brunk, Scheffel, and Lantz. Pegram asked me to move in first tent. I did not prefer to crowd anyone out and several fellows aimed to get into the first tent. [10] I helped K.P. in mess hall of 17th Co. at noon and in evening. Fine spirit among men.

Sept. 28. Sat. General work for big part of day. Cleaning up and making furniture for Lieut. At noon, Pegram and I played quoits with the two Lieuts. They beat us because I could

not play. Pegram did well. About four o'clock Lieut told me to have men clean up around our bath building. We soon did it up right. After supper Pegram and I went to canteen or store in Paris. Some fine view of camp from Y.M.C.A. We purchased over \$13 worth. The reason I went was to get shoes for Harvey Hinshaw who had asked the Lieut about it. Upon our arrival home we found Lieut Avery gone with four fellows to look for lost baggage. Our goods were soon all sold out. [11]

I treated Caveness and left a treat for Avery. Candy cost me \$1.00 per box and I sold it for \$1.20. Lieut. Avery said we may start a Company Canteen.

On the whole we were well pleased with our new site and we all felt the better for the change. Of course our first reception was considered a joke by most of us. We had no lights in our tents but we put up one light in the Lieut. tent in afternoon.

Sept. 29. Sunday. Reveille when I was taking a cold bath. A big breakfast. Sugar visible on corn flakes. Tents furled after breakfast. General policing and clearing up. S.S. out doors tho it was pretty hot. Started a letter to J.S. Gerig. A big dinner. Brenneman asked to clean up officers mess. He fared sumptuously. Several others did K.P. work. Letter to mother and one to D.F. Pegram and I took a [12] hike to Y.M.C.A. and other part of camp. I K.P.d after supper and then I read some in Genesis. Retired early and slept soundly. Brunk said I snored.

Sept. 30. Mon. Fine morning. I did not take my bath before mess. We worked on our lot until 10 o'clock and then I washed and took a bath. K.P.'d at noon. Then I helped make furniture for the Lieutenant. Avery brought his wife and we saw her as we tried out the typewriter table.

Several of the boys were sick; among them Diller Thomas & Moore (John). Shaved before retreat. According to appearances we will eat in our mess hall tomorrow. Diller used two of my blankets in order to keep warm.

Oct. 1. Tues. No place to eat breakfast on account of absence of light in our mess hall. A sergeant from 47 Co told us he would find us if we K.P.'d. We [13] did so. My job with several others was to make wood. After mess I left and worked at home. Some of the boys

stayed to help clean up. Staunton made himself a sandwich and chef called him down: a chewing match followed. Our boys quit except Hockett who K.P.'d all day. A discussion between the Lieutenant of 47 Co. and Avery finished the matter.

Avery called me to go in search of 2x4 timbers. We made a stand for garbage cans after a long search for material. Next a wood box was planned. A fine dinner. Mess Sgt. made a fine speech. He spoke of our mess hall rules or plans. He even suggested that we say grace before meal. He made a capital impression. Mess Sgt and Lieut go for electrical appliances. When they are gone we clean up near bath house. Next we wired mes hall and our tent (et al.). After supper we finished [14] the mess hall wiring and tested several hundred lights in supply house just opposite our kitchen. Lieut. suggested that I quit work and leave some other fellow finish job. I asked a permit to go to canteen and went to Paris. Bought Candy, tablets and souvenirs. Found Y.M. used as hospital. Diller had been sent to Hospital in morning.

When I returned from canteen I gave Lieut some candy and then he gave out mail to me for boys. A box from home for Brunk. Started a letter for E.A.S. but could not finish it. Retired feeling ready to sleep after a long day. Felt fine. Had some [. . .] before noon.

Oct. 2. Felt fine upon arising. In the morning we built a wood box. Some fellows cut weeds. As on the previous day we put out all our blankets and kept tents furled all day. In the afternoon we cleaned up in our yard. Some of [15] the boys tried to get out of it. Among them McChase, Jordan, & E Mardfin. Noah Beachy felt sick so did also Pegram, Lantz, Moore Enos, Moore John F. I felt fine.

I went to Paris to take over 2 pairs of shoes for half soling. Bought three boxes of candy. We have fine meals and all went o.k. Intended to hold meeting in evening but decided it may not be best. Boys sang a while and I read in Book of Luke also in a book of Mr. Brunk "The Majesty of Self Control." I also read a part of Derstine's tract on Paul.

Oct. 3. Thurs. One week in camp. We had some fun by getting ahead of the line for breakfast. Our tent made good. We worked on our lot. Since Pegram was on sick list I was delegated to oversee a little. Not able to keep fellows at work before noon as I would like to

have done. But in afternoon I made a success of it. We worked pretty hard [16] from 1 p.m. to 3:30 p.m. Before noon I got some repaired shoes and two boxes of candy. After dinner I shaved and took a cold bath. Another bath at 3:30 p.m.

Several fellows on sick list. Moore E. Moore J.F. Beachy, Noah, Pegram. Diller still at Base Hospital. Weather rather threatening but no rain. Lieut left around 3:00 p.m. but came back before "dinner." Pegram asked me to call the roll but he felt well enough to do it himself when the time came. After supper or dinner I went to canteen and shoe man to take shoes to repair man. Several of the boys from Elida got money from home church in checks. Can they be cashed? I thought they could not but with Lieut signature they possibly could. Letters to E.A.M. and E.J.M. Nice evening but rain was [12] threatening.

Oct. 4. Fri. Several fellows show the effects of Influenza: Among them Andy Miller, McCoy, Scheffel & Brenneman. In the forenoon such men as were able worked cutting weeds. Some are tired of job and call it Non combatant work. An extra big force in the kitchen because of inspection on the morrow. Levi Schlabach disgusted about carpentering without tools and lumber. Letter from E.A. Wrote him a new one for one of eve before was not yet mailed.

A big dinner—prunes. After dinner I was asked to get names of men and company assignments for Lieut.

Stockade prisoners worked near us. Report that a stockade to be built East of us. We saw some of our pals. Brunk got a letter in fine stationery.

Brenneman, Lantz, Miller "Andy" not very well. Fine stationery ordered by Corlot. Sold a gold beveled [18] card to Martin W.C.

In evening I made trip to get shoes and canteen supplies. \$1 worth of stick candy, \$4.25 worth of shoe repairs. Bible class planned but again postponed. General talk in tent in the evening on fine stationery etc. Most of fellows in good spirits. Staunton told me Lieut. may order all our furniture destroyed. Why not object. A good night to sleep.

Oct. 5. Sat. K.P. for me so I arose early. Worked pretty hard. Went to P.O. and Y.M. at 10 oclock a.m. Got money orders cashed for Pegram \$10 and Scheffel \$15. Also bought four

books from Y.M. A sort of light dinner. In p.m. I went to Co. I and K for provisions. Read in Sabatiec's "France Today" Interesting. Lieutenant gave me identification card so to make collection of money orders possible. He wanted one of my books to [18] read when I came back in camp.

In eve I went to Paris to get shoes--repaired. Also brought a very big order of candy etc. Letter from E.A.S. E.J.M. and Clara E.M. also from O.B.G. at Haverford. Diller came back from hospital. All sick in our tent but Brunk and I. I felt bad for Lantz and Payson Miller. Brunk and myself slept outdoors all night.

Oct. 6. Sun. 1918. Had a good night's rest outdoors. After a fine breakfast I helped K.P. a little. Made a trip to Co. J. for lemons. Asked about my C.O. positoin. Not scorned in any manner. After breakfast I also tried to see that sick men got some "eats". Read Gen. 1-12 chapters. Read some in Sabatiec's France Today.

A fine dinner. After dinner I started to write my article for paper but soon Doctor came [20] and even before that we got order to put up a new tent for the sick. In fact we moved the tent in front of Lieut's tent to space beyond supply tent. Noah Beachy, "Andy" Miller, Enos Moore, Alpha Lantz and Marvin Hockett moved in to new tent. Dr. ordered four of them to Hospital. Lantz not sent. He said he thought he need not go. Dr. said it makes little difference what you think it is what I think Tempts. Beachy 104, Hockett 102. Moore 102. Miller 102. Lantz -. We made fun of Lantz, called him lazy.

Letters to E.A.S. J.B.C. Adella and O.B.G. Supper at 4:30. Retreat after supper. A fine evening. We expect to have a S.S. Walter Martin made lemonade for Lieut and wife. Mess Sg't took several pictures in camp. A rather somber atmosphere due to [21] influenza and removal of men to hospital. S.S. pretty well attended and a good spirit shown. "Couche"

Oct. 7. Mon. I felt rather "full in head." Of course I soon imagined that I was a victim. Hampton had a vomiting spell during the night. We worked with pick and shovel. I went to Post office to cash money orders for Levi Schlabach \$30 J.W. Steer \$50 Thomas \$10 *J.F. Moore* \$15

Hayes \$10 Staunton \$10. Also went to canteen and bought 1 box of chocolate candy and matches.

Read in France today after I got back. Soon I felt very miserable so I quit reading. All afternoon the fellows told me I would be the next victim. Went to canteen twice in p.m. to get a few things and change for men. In evening we had Bible Study. Good interest. In afternoon I reasoned with Brunk & Diller about Goshen College. Tried to show them that [22] in my estimate J.E.H. was a victim of circumstances and a system. Retired hoping to see the new day in good spirits. Monroe Schlabach to hospital.

Oct. 8. Tues. Cool morning. I did not know whether to answer roll call or not consequently I was "late" for the first time since in the camp. Ate a good breakfast and began to feel that I was pretty well after all. Then came work. Cleaned up Lieut's tent a regular job for me. Then helped to put out blankets and line up around our tents. A call to "assemble." Physical exercise. Rather hard on some of us who had colds but I stayed by them. Next came the first Lieut from Carriers office. We were again called out for foot races. Several groups raced. I came out second in the final-Steer the fastest man. Next we laid off for a little spell. A great big dinner. In the p.m. I went to cash money orders for Theophilis Miller [23] \$30, Clarence Nofzinger \$17.00 & Walter Martin \$20. Postmaster and I talk on C.O. position. He was very congenial and hoped I would get to France.

After supper I went to Paris and bought 3 boxes stationary, hair tonic, candy etc. Arrived at home to find Beachy (Noah), Moore (Enos) and Miller (Andy) back from hospital. Monroe Schlabach and Hockett still at hospital. Returned men feel pretty good. They were placed in my tent so I moved while I was gone. I was moved to Holmes Co. Bunch.

In afternoon I put racks on our china closet. Just finished it ere I went to Paris. No longer mine when I got back from Paris. Felt pretty good all day. Had no Bible Study in eve. Postponed. Levi Schlabach not well in eve.

Oct. 9. Wed. 1918. Mardfin and Levi Schlabach off to hospital. Other sick men pretty well. We fed them at mealtime in their tents. In the forenoon we [24] swept our whole lot.

Why? We did not know. I wrote a letter to L.E. Blauch. After dinner we built a frame for Lieutenant's tent and put it up. Major Came. He asked me if I could keep books. Soon a report spread that we would be furloughed soon as Board was due shortly. Lieut. Avery asked me to get reports of men for Board. I lined them up. Then I got reports of sick men and those in hospital. Next I went to P.O. to collect a money order for Samuel Yoder. Written for \$30 but [. . .] for \$5.00 I could not collect so I sent it home for him. Bought stamps for Orderly. Also returned tobacco for Frank Miller. Good Supper. Fed sick people. Small attendance at Bible Meeting. Luke 6. Cool night.

Oct. 10. Thurs. 1918. Rose early and called upon sick. Also helped Harvey Hinshaw with cooking for one cook was indisposed and the K. [25] P's were sleeping. Cleaned Lieut tent after breakfast and feeding of sick and convalescents. Took physical exercise under Lieut commands. Great humor when I could not do a stunt.

Called in by Major. He asked me if I knew of any conscientious objectors in camp besides Mardfin. I first misunderstood but was soon told that other men were religious objectors. Pegram and I asked to classify all men as to religion. Over 20 Mennonites. Fixed up checks for Diller Moore, Brunk, Lantz & Brenneman. These checks came from Elida Church for the boys. I asked Lieut. to sign them and in p.m. I tried to pass them. Cashed two Lantz & Diller's but others not. Finally I told boys they had better send them home. Too much trouble to cash them here. Brunk tried in afternoon to send his. Pegram said it was too late on account of the [26] censor. I saw to it that it was mailed at that time.

After dinner I had one shoe soled for Troyer 50c. Rubber heels for Brenneman (and nailing 60c same for myself 60c. Sent reply to letter from E.A.S. of same day. Also had letter from Clair Moine on eve before one from Harley 19 Cargine. Read France today made a hasty survey of book. Called it good. Supper. fed the sick. Bible Class. Retired (to K.P. in morning.)

Oct. 11. Fri. Called Frank Miller to K.P. with me. We had things in apple pie order before breakfast so that work was soon all off. I took Physical exercise. Rather strenuous. Duck Waddle interesting. Some of the boys cut wood.

In afternoon a bunch went to Co. J. kitchen. Wrote letter to Harley, J.E. Baked pies in mess hall. Second time K.P. for me. Pies baked both times. [27] After supper we cleaned up in fine shape. Mopped and scrubbed. The day was a busy one. Very tired by night. Retired after Bible study in good time.

Oct. 12. Sat. 1918. Inspection day. Hurry and hustle to clean Lieut tent, feed the sick and prepare for inspection. Wrote to father, D.F., Mr. [. . .] (Ind. U.I. class business) and Harley. Sent views of Camp Sevier to Jennie.

After dinner trip to Post Office to cash two money orders for Mardfin \$5 for Hampton \$5 Arranged that Staunton could keep two books another week. Trip to Paris for apples candy changed check for Moore etc. Looked thru Hazen's "Modern European History." Meeting in our tent. [28]

Oct. 13. Saturday. Up late in a.m. One dozen at S.S. out doors. A good meeting. Fine dinner cake and fruit salad. Afternoon I planned to go see Monroe Schlabach but did not go. No one to give permit. Lieut gone also orderly. I sent letters to E.A.S. Clair, home folks. E.A.M. D.F.M. Felt tired in eve. Took care of sick after meals. Most of them improving.

Oct. 14. Mon. I washed in a.m. took exercise both in a.m. & p.m. I went to get money order changed for Brenneman and letter (of postage due) for Walter Martin. In afternoon I went to get personal mail for Major Carrier. In eve I went to Paris. Meeting was well attended. Sick improving. I saw Monroe Schlabach. He is in the Pneumonia ward but looks [29] well. My C.O. position is questioned several times ere I got to see him. Mail from Clara and Elisia.

Oct. 15. Tuesday. Sawed wood in morning. Then took exercise. Fed sick and cleaned in Lieut's tent in morning as usual. He and I discussed Peace plans. Wilson turned down Hun's plans. What next. Physical exercise. Read in Kant's Critique of Pure Reason. In afternoon we fixed stove in Lieut. tent. We also turned the tent. It took full force of C.O. men. H.D Hinshaw got papers for Reconstruction work from Major Carrier.

I went to Paris in eve to get three sweaters etc. Meeting in Mess Hall in eve. Luke 9-10. Retired, to K.P. in morning. [30]

Oct. 16. Wednesday. 1918. K.P. for me as I arose early to go to Mess Hall. Fellows came ere we were ready. K.P. work went nicely. In a.m. I read in Kants "Critique." Lieut and Major came to kitchen. Sanitary inspector gave orders that all sweeping of grounds cease at once. After dinner I went ot Paris. Bought over \$18 worth. Had orderlies shoes soled for \$1.25. Bought 3 sweaters and sample of underwear. Some boys whitewashed mess hall in anticipation of the return of our Mess Sgt. Horton tries to sell his sweater for \$6.50. Martin finally bought it for \$6.00. Bible Class in Mes Hall. I got a letter from J.H.W. He was rather confidential about it. Some of us had [31] a long talk with cooks after Bible Study. Retired late.

Oct. 17. Thursday. 1918. Arose quite early. While sweeping Lieut's tent I got a chance to read a card from Clara. It told of death of J.J. Miller. In a.m. we dug in ground for exercise. I took cold bath and shaved. After dinner, Mausel (the cook) and I went to Post Office to cash a money order (\$20) for Jordan. Next a trip to Paris. Bought candy had shoes repaired ordered underwear and bought other things. After supper I framed a picture of "Goshen girls." Had found frame in a.m. Someone had thrown it away as a broken mirror frame. Good Bible meeting well attended. Held in Mess Hall. Before supper I was moved [32] to old place. Next the question arose who is to move out of Holmes Co. Tent. Frank Miller decided to come to us and E.S. Jones moved to Pegram's tent. Retired. Read Kant.

Oct. 18. Fri. 1918. Felt fine upon arising. Big breakfast apples, butter, and pancakes. After breakfast Pegram and orderly went to Personnel office to get service record for Pegram. My job to get men to work. Major came and all men called in to report how long they had been in camp. I was asked to take the sick negro to infirmary. He was sent to Hospital. Read Kant. Dinner. Money orders and stamps. Orders for Hampton \$15. Sam Yoder \$40.00. Trip to Paris. Bought about \$25 worth underwear, suitcase, [33] raisins paper etc. Exercise when I returned. I then went to see Monroe Schlabach but found he had been transferred to the Base Hospital ward 16 as a convalescent. On my return I reported to the Lieut. Major asked to see my "N.Y. American." It reported that Kaiser will surrender. Later I placed the blankets in Lieut's tent and got my paper. To Paris to get shoes for Frank Miller etc. Bible Study.

Oct. 19. Sat. Stormy night and cool morning. Harvey Hinshaw got a telegram from his brother from Comelly Springs N.C. He asked me to send the reply. I have been helping to enlarge the coal bin. Trip to Telegraph office. A young man from N.Y. got news of death of his sister. Trip to Paris with Lieut's shoes. Cost 25c. Also bought other things. A shirt [34] for Brenneman and underwear for Lantz. Upon my return the boys were all found in Mess hall filling out furlough papers. I did same. I asked major about Reconstruction furlough. He seemed to think the furlough could be granted with the Board of Inq. seeing me. I decided to write to Judge Mack. After noon I wrote to S.J. Bunting and Judge Mack. Talked to Lieut. about it. Next I was called before a Lieut to make any complaint at to our treatment. I made none. Next a trip to Post Office and Library for books. Next a trip to see Monroe Schlabach. Could not see him but report was that he was doing well. Read in Kant. Bible study. Started a letter for E.A.S. Night cool and rainy. Everybody moved [45] to dry spots in tents. Even Brenneman moved this time.

Oct. 20. Sun. 1918. Rain Rain Rain. good breakfast, chicken dinner. I spent some time cleaning Lieut's tent and then I was called in to lieutenant who is the Regimental physician. He asked me of my C.O. stand as a Mennonite. He a Harvard man was very broad in his view but he seemed to think men must fight to bring about higher ideals. Chicken dinner came soon after. I shaved and discussed C.O. stand with Pegram. After dinner I carried food to Weston & Levi Schlabach. The Harvard man wondered where I got my clothes. I said I purchase them with borrowed money. At first he said he could not see how I could class myself with the C.O. bunch. When we got thru he wondered how an ignorant man could die a C.O.

In the afternoon I wrote to E.A.S. D.S.G. L.E.B. Clair M. and [36] Mrs. E.M.Y. Sunday School in evening in our tent. Frank Miller built a camp fire to drive off the dampness. Smoke was predominating factor. The S.S. lesson was on Abraham's offering of Isaac. Many facts about the Supreme Sacrifice were brought out. After meeting Mardfin talked about C.O.s. Among them F.B. Sayre's brother.

Oct. 21. Mon. Cloudy for a short time and then bright and sunny. We dragged over yard and levelled things up a little. After dinner I went to Post office and Library. Next I took a trip to Paris to get Watch crystal for Enos Wengerd. Also took shoes over etc etc. When I came back I read Kant and Driesers "The Power of Silence." Hausley the cook went to Commissary Dept. after raisins. He had \$1.75 of my money. But it was invoice day so he got none. He kept cash to go in morning. He also carried my pen and wants to buy it. [37] A fine eve. I got a card from Clara telling of a girl who came to stay at D.F.'s home. A letter from E.A.S. reporting on car strike at Lima. Weather cool. Bible Study in Mess Hall.

Oct. 22. Tues. After breakfast we dragged the grounds thoroughly. Slim Hausley went to get raisins at commissary. I read in Drieser's Power of Silence. Lieut came for breakfast and told about exercise so I went out to take it. Slim bought 5 packages of raisins for 36c. I gave him 50c and sold them 10c apiece. I was called in to see Major. He asked me to start a school. Whole plan of furloughing seems changed. He told of the types of men. His idea that the men are abnormal and lacking in education. He wants them kept busy. I said how about equipment. He said that was up to me to make out list.

[38] Dinner after meal I explained situation to men. Some enthusiastic, some not much interested some few oppose the idea but say they will take some work. Steer and I find out the educational status of men. We plan a course and a curriculum. Steer, Stanton, Mardfin, Jordan and I to teach.

Curriculum

Reading, I Eng. Hist. & Geog. J.W. Steer

II Am. Lit. J.C. Meyer

Math I Fundamentals--Staunton

Math II

Algebra & Geom. Steer.

Hist & Civics J.C.M.

I. American

II. General

Geography J.C.M.

Gen. Science Mardfin

Agriculture I & II Mardfin

Writing Steer

Spelling Mardfin

Bookkeeping Meyer

Typewriting Jordan

[39] I told Lt. Avery and he O.K.'d them in general but was not sure about typewriters. I planned to go to Paris. Major halted me and asked about my plans. He O.K.'d them and said I should make list of needs.

Trip to Paris with Horton H.D. Hinshaw asked me to get a telegraphic money order for \$25. Supper. After mess Steer and I did work of dean—we matriculated the men. Bible Study in our tent 14th chapter of Luke. Goodnight: P.S. a letter from Alma Wayne Nappanee Ind. A card from B.C. Meyer informing me of dishwasher at D.F.s. Letter from O.R.G. He to go to France soon in Reconstruction.

Oct. 23. Worked on texts for our school work. The librarian of the Camp library showed great interest. Also a trip to Post Office to send a pillow home [40] for Walter Martin and cash money order for Scheffel \$15. Big part of day spent in looking after school. Bookkeeping a problem. Who to teach it. Bible study well attended.

Oct. 24. Thurs. I K.P.'d all day. We were quite busy. Major and Lieut ate dinner with us. In afternoon I planned to go to Paris but exercise interfered with going so I went after supper. Took shoes to repair man for Brunk and ordered crochet cotton and cap for me. Also bought some paper for school work. Rain made tent a damp place. No lights. I slept in the Mess Hall as did also Hampton. Frank Miller and Brenneman. Rain all night. In eve I wrote a letter to E.A.S. on stationary of Frank Miller. A sort of dreary night. [41]

Oct. 25. Fri. Rain, Rain, Rain. Almost flooded out except in mess Hall. Good eats all day. I helped some in Mess Hall. We started a Class in Algebra and one in Arithmetic. After dinner I went to Paris. Almost had to wade back. An officer got stuck in water with a motor cycle. Water in tents. After supper I went with orderly to see Fletcher Griffith and Monroe Schlabach about their records. Could not get into hospital on acct. of quarentine. Before supper I was called before Major. Report that Board was to come on morrow. All boys asked to see Major about records.

After supper I wrote a letter to E.A. and finished [42] one for E.A.S. Intend to sleep in my tent. Candle light the feature of interest these nights.

Oct. 26. Sat. 1918. Cloudy and rainy. We all prepared for inspection. I took a cold bath. Board came. Some excitement. Men called before Major Kellogg. I was recommended for Reconstruction work. Kellogg told me he was sorry to see a man of my intelligence taking such a position.

After dinner I went to Paris. Got pictures, shoes for McClure and other things. Next I went to post office to send a money order to Chas. William Co. for \$18.10. Collected Mondy order for Mardfin for \$10. After supper I taught a class in Geog. Good spirit in class. Bible class not as well [43] attended as usual. After class Horton the cook expressed some views about C.O. Men. He expected them to be extraordinarily willing workers. He doubted the sincerety of some.

P.S. Our experience before Major Kellogg was one that impressed most of us. He seemed to get more out of the men than an ordinary person would.

Oct. 27. Sunday. Cloudy. Clocks turned back 1 hour. A very late breakfast because of it being Sunday. We generally eat 1 hr. late on Sunday so today it was two hours. Hinshaw got orders to leave for Phila. Horton and I accompanied him to the hostess house to find out train time. Slow train at 11 pm from Greenville. Fast train at 5+ p.m. Latter due at Phila at 11:55 a.m. Monday.

I went with Hinshaw to Paris where he took taxi for Greenville. Dinner. Sun began to shine. [44] each man could sign up so that the \$2 laundry bill could be paid. The rule at Camp Jackson was 25c a week for laundry for all men. I said I'll take the money and send it to Sec'y of War. My whole am't would be \$90 less \$2 for laundry would be \$88 to go to Sec'y of War. Charges Money order 80c, stamp for special delivery 13c. My plan is to give all the money back. Some think they will give it to Friends Relief Com. or Mennonite Committees. Many arguments pro & con.

In the afternoon I went to Paris to get some ordered goods. Also took over two pairs of shoes for Andy Miller & C. Diller. I gave a lecture on the development of civilization with special emphasis on the need of proper readjustment after each step [45] in the change. Good interest. After supper we had a French class and the Bible Study class;

Oct. 30. Wed. Rainy Morning. We got up earlier than necessary. Bugles not understood. I found out that the record of my vaccination and inoculations is lost. Trip to library and post office. I sent a long letter Adella. Also sent a box home for Moore, Enos. A big dinner. Blasting just opposite our camp to the south caused rocks to strike over tents and mess hall. After dinner I went to Paris to get shoes etc. It rained all the way. Major Carrier came and we made some wood for him to take along. In the evening Wm. Cecil & Ferdinand Hinshaw came to us from stockade. Also a new man from the school for cooks & bakers. [46] We had a French class, Steer Miller & I. Bible class well attended.

Luke 20.

Important event of day. Weston's bath while I was washing.

Oct. 31. Thurs. A nice day but a little stormy. Weather changed and became cooler. In the a.m. we built or began a latrine. About all of us took turn at pick and shovel. At noon I took in some wash of the day before. My bath towel was gone. I tried to find it. After a careful search I found that Staunton had it. Dinner. Some of the men lined up early. When the "soupe" blew Pegram faced us about and so I was one of the first men to mess.

After dinner I went to Post Office & Library. Then to Paris with "Slim." Then I went to the Hospital to [47] find Griffith & Schlabach. The former was reported improving; the latter was sent out in the morning but to the wrong place. No sooner than I had searched our lot than Schlabach was brought back.

French class after mess and then Bible Class.

While I was at the Hospital John F. Moore got a furlough and left for home to report in a week at turtle farm. Cecil and F.A. Hinshaw were sent to turtle farm today.

I had been in Post Office, Paris and Hospital in the afternoon.

Nov. 1. Fri. K.P. I got up early and helped to get breakfast. Cleaned up in Mess Hall in a.m. Wrote letters to Mrs. C.B.F. Clair M. and D.F.M. Mess Sg't asked me to mop floor [48] and clean up in front of Mess Hall. A good dinner. After eating I cleaned up inside the hall. Next I was called out to Lieut. tent to work on our Service Records. Five men went to get "shot" again. Many records for vaccination & inoculation lost. I found out I made A in the Psyc. test. My number is 4,124,743. Some very interesting remarks on service record cards. Many fellows fear they must take "shots" again and they resent it. Pay day seemed near.

After supper I went to Paris. Many soldiers shopping. When I came back Noah Beachy and I had a settlement from day before. I gave him \$1 but we do not know if that settles it or not.

The Bible class was extra well attended and the spirit was good. We discussed the [49] Communion service. Many took part. Quakers vs. Mennonite view. I mentioned the different views--transubstantiation and consubstantiation. Platonic and Aquinian views of philosophy. Several men had been "shot" today.

Nov. 2. Sat. We expected inspection but it did not come: pay day the big feature. After dinner most of men got paid. I got \$95. Lieut. Avery explained how we ought to start a company fund. Several men joked about it. I went to Post Office and sent \$95 to Baker. I paid for money order 30c. Registration 10c. regular postage 3c. all out of my pocket. Also cashed a \$40 money order for Staunton. Got a \$50 money order for him. He expects to send it to Baker.

Later I went to Paris to get shoes etc. The main subject [50] of the day was pay. Several men worried as to what to do with their money.

After supper we built a camp-fire to keep warm. Had no Bible class but we sang some songs around the fire. Retired to a warm place in bed.

Nov. 3. Sun. Fine day but very cool. The camp fire was not quite out so we soon had a good warm place. Sam Miller built the fire. After breakfast we cleaned up. Pegram wanted tents furled. The boys objected and said it was not according to orders. Pegram acquiesced. We had Sunday School in our tent. The Temperance Lesson. Esau sells his birthright. Big dinner.

After dinner I wrote to E.A.S., J.S. Gerig, Leah, and Bernice L. Then I read in Hyde's Five Great Philosophies of Life. Frank Miller took my picture alone, with Lantz and with [51] Staunton. In the eve we had a camp fire. Bible study was well attended and some vital issues were presented. After the study we warmed up and retired.

Nov. 4. Mon. 1918. Fine day, warmer than Sunday but we had a camp fire in the morning. I read some in Hydes Five Great philosophies. Steer conducted the physical exercises. Later we made wood but broke the axe. Marvin Shore came to get arrangements made to go Phila. for Recon. work. During the morning there were several men who wanted me to send off their money to Secy Baker. I wrote a letter for Henry Beachy. Others used it as a model.

After dinner the Lieut. called me in and gave me work on service records. [52] First I was sent to Hospital to locate records of men who had been at base hospital Sevier before they were sent to Jackson. No success. After that I wrote on typewriter for fellows on furloughs all to locate records.

After supper I mailed letters for Lieut. as well as my own. At retreat I called roll etc. Letters I mailed to E.A.S. Elmer. Leah. Bernice L. and J.S. Gerig. Also mailed money order to Baker for Staunton.

While in Lieut's tent after supper Sam Yoder was called in because of a letter mailed to Loucks about farm furloughs. The reply caused the consternation. It was not given to Yoder.

Bible Study interesting. Newspapers look to peace. Pegram went out on a furlough and I called the roll.

[Beginning of Diary Book 3]

Diary from November 5, 1918.

Nov. 5. A fine day. We got up in good time and I called roll for Pegram was gone since yesterday. After breakfast we lined things up a bit. Then we took some exercise—Steer in comand. The Lieut. came and called for help for a supply Lieut. About all the boys went I was asked to get a book from the Library on Military Correspondence for Avery. I got it and at the same time I took back about six books. One belonged to Stanton and it had money in it. I also got two money orders from Secy Baker one for Henry Beachy for \$94 and one for Sam Miller for \$93. Cahsed a money order for \$5 belonging to Thomas. After dinner the Lt. asked for subscriptions for new supplies for mess hall. Myself chm of com. Steer, Staunton and Noah Beachy on committee. We had some time but finaly got about \$34.50. We went into Lt. tent and he called in all who refused to pay up. Next we had [2] a rather long theological discussion. After that I went to Paris on a business trip. Got a Registry receipt for Staunton at the Regimental Post Office.

Horton, Steer & Stanuton went to the Commissaur Dept. to buy goods for mess hall. Not Successfull so Horton asked Lt. that he (Horton) and I go to Greenville on morrow. I bought a paper thru Hayes. Somehow I lost my towel today. All went well at retreat. Four K.P.s are required now. Bible class in Mess hall.

Nov. 6. 1918. Fine morning. We got up rather late and some were too late for roll call. Breakfast late because Brenneman got up late. The alarm did not go off on time. After breakfast we cleaned up and made wood. Major came before the Lieut. When Lieut came Horton and I got passes for Greenville to buy mess hall outfit. We bought \$25.50 worth of goods and the transfer cost \$1.75 so the bill was 27.75. We got back at one oclock. We could not [3] get much aluminum. Some fellows objected. Next came the rules. We had to tell the Lieut. that the

fellows objected to company fund. We the committee spent all afternoon in Lieut's tent. Supper served on new plan.

After supper I was delegated to "watch" in orderly tent. Letters from D.S.G., Clair M. and Father. No Bible study class.

Nov. 7. Thurs. A Fine day. Moore (Enos) and Weston late for roll call. They were detailed to clean latrine. After breakfast general policing. Lieutenant came early. We got stoves and set them up in forenoon. Orders that men move out when there were seven in a tent. Some discussion about who is to move. After dinner I went to Post Office and Library. Sent a pillow away for Theophilus M. and a fountain pen for Andrew Miller. Also got 71c which the librarians found in a book which I returned for Staunton several days ago.

[4] During the day about ten boys were out on detail to help the supply officer. The Lieut. had the rest of us clean the supply tent, the bath house and latrine. He also ordered some ditching done at bathhouse and a stove set up for cook Horton now our Mess Sergeant. He told me to make a duty register and to have Hayes and Weston set as K.P.'s in turn. He asked that the detail for the supply officer be a regular order job. That all men go in turn. He said we would all be furloughed soon anyway.

I got no mail today. Bible class in the evening after orderly came back and relieved me in his tent. I type wrote a letter for Troyer to Montgomery Ward & Co. and one for myself to A.C. Moine. We retired in good spirits.

Nov. 8. Fri. Up in good time. All men out to roll call but Thomas was late. After breakfast we policed around tents. The [5] Lieut. called me in and informed me that I would be a witness at a courtmartial trial of Barnes. Frank Miller & I went with Avery but there was nothing doing in the forenoon except that the judge advocate and the counsel for plaintiff and defense questioned us in a general manner. In the p.m. McCoy & Weston went with us for Barnes asked that they be at the trial as witness for the defendent. My call before the court came first after Avery. I told them, after the affirmation, of my station and rank. I was questioned regarding the roll call scene on Aug. about 29th when Barnes answered roll call by saying "I'm pissing." Abot

three oclock Miller Weston McKay and I proceeded homeward. Later we heard that Barnes got 12 years.

I read in Hyde's "Five Great Philosophies" and finished it after supper. Also went to Paris after supper. Got some candy, pictures, and stationary. Weston preached in the mess hall. I arranged the duty roll for the morrow. Read in Bible. [6]

Nov. 9. Sat. Read in the morning. We rose on good time and prepared for inspection. A detail was made up to cut woods. I arranged the Duty roll. I helped several tent groups to get tents into shape for inspection. At nine oclock I called men out for inspection. All passed the personal inspection except Weston was told to visit barber. McClure had cleaned our bath house and he was ordered to do it over. One man was ordered to move out of our tent so as to reduce the number to six.

The company fund committee met Lt. Avery and some of "the" slackers were called in to give a reason why they did not pay. Steer and I were sent to Greenville to buy things. We left Paris on 11 oclock car. We purchased 3 shirts & 2 suits underwear—crochet cotton-kerchiefs, sox, a suitcase and extra stamps—paper & envelopes, spoons, pitchers, a cap, candy, gloves etc. Got home about 2.30 p.m. with things O.K. Next after eating [7] I went to Post office with money orders as follows—one for Hamtpon \$5, one for McKay \$5. Also took books to Library and got three new ones by Tolstoi, Miller & Haekel. Supper. Later I went to Paris with pictures for Frank Miller. Bought candy \$2.40, pocketbook 70c, and got some collar buttons grabs. Later I sold to Andy Miller who made money on them. bible class in our tent. No one moved out. Pegram back from furlough.

Nov.10. Sunday. 1918. Fine morning. We got up late as is common on Sunday. I spent a.m. reading Millers Life of Christ. Taught S.S. Lesson—Jacob's Deception Genesis 27. Report of Hun Revolution current. I got a letter from Uncle Albert. In the p.m. I wrote to E.A.S. D.S.G. L.E.B.—a letter of consolation—and after supper to Uncle Albert. Bible Class quite interesting. [8]

Nov. 11. Monday. 1918. Cloudy in a.m. I was on detail to make wood. As soon as that job was done the Lieut. called me in and gave me a job on service records. Steer & I worked there until four o'clock. Reports that peace was made current. Major and Lieut. now convinced that peace has come ere the two years were up. I went to Post Office and Library after four o'clock and to Paris after supper. Paris closed. A new man came to our group. He is reported to be a stockade man. Question now is when are we going home.

Nov. 12. Tuesday. 1918. Cold weather. In the morning I tried to help arrange the work about bath houses and latrines. Spent considerable time keeping warm in our tent. I had some typewriting to do for Lieut. and I got a letter from Ray Rick. I wrote him a long letter describing army life. Also wrote a letter to Bunting of the [9] Friends Service Committee in which I told him of my plan to go to France even though Peace had come.

After dinner I went to hang him Mr. Griffith who was sent to hospital on Oct. 18, 1918. Report is that he is improving. I read Confessions of an Opium eater. After supper I went to Paris on business. Got three purses, candy and pictures for D. Frank Miller. Bible study on the Book of Ruth. Quite well attended and interesting.

Nov. 13. Wednesday. 1918. Cold morning. I helped clean up and get detailed men started. As soon as I thought it warm enough I got water in mess hall to wash clothes. Pegram called me for work on typewriter and I worked until noon and again in the afternoon until four o'clock on the furlough papers and insurance blanks. Steer I and Staunton helped some but could not run the machine. At four o'clock I washed my clothing. After supper I went to [10] Paris. Got some pictures for Frank Miller. Read of reported death of Crown Prince of Germany. Also article on Mennonites. Bible class. Book of Ruth Chaps III & IV. We discussed the social customs of ancient and modern times. Retired late.

Nov. 14. Thurs. 1918. Diller got up to build fire. Soon I had to get up to shut off stove for it was a rosy red up to the third joint of pipe. After breakfast I bought a paper. Report of death of Crown Prince not yet confirmed. I washed a shirt in morning. Had washed a towel, night shirt and underwear on day before. Arranged Duty Roster. Otherwise I did not work much

until noon. Then I was called in to typewrite an order for the Hq. 156 D.B. accounting for every man in camp. Late for dinner. After dinner I helped clean up. A hint had come to the effect that a special inspector was due today. I helped peel Irish & sweet potatoes. Read French and [11] wrote a letter to sister Kathryn. After mess Hines and I went to Paris. Business at the photo man and shoe man. Bought candy which I sold about 3 for one cent. Bible class. I Cor. chap. I. I went to bed early for I was K.P. on the morrow.

Nov. 15. Fri. 1918. Got up early to K.P. We were very busy and at 9 a.m. I was called to orderly tent to typewrite. Got Sam Miller to substitute for me. We had much extra work on account of an Inspector whom we are awaiting. We sawed-off a pipe of the refrigerator with the meat saw. At noon Andy Miller got sick and Enos Moore took his place as a K.P. In p.m. I went to Post Office and Library. Cashed a money order for \$15 for Walter Martin. Got two books from Library. Sent a card to Adella. Before supper we went to company "J" for supplies. After supper we cleaned up so that we were thru by 7:30. No Bible study. I read some in Charlotte Perkins Gilman "The Home." She is in a sense a revolutionist. She thinks woman ought not to be tied to home so closely. She gives many good ideas. [12]

Nov. 16. Sat. 1918. Reports that Development Battalion would be sent home first. Boys interested. After mess I was sent to the wood lot to see that the wood makers did a good job. I worked quite hard and we made more wood than usual. After we finished I shaved and bathed. Then I read a little before dinner. After dinner I went to Paris on business. I did not get Miller's picture, but I got some candy and a Literary Digest. The dealer gave me 40 pieces of candy which I missed in a box the time I bought candy of him before. Also got pillow material and sold the bulk for \$3.00. I patched my trousers.

I read some in the Digest and in The Home. At supper "Hines" poured his soup on his lap. Prim also tried the same stunt. We spent the evening in tents for it was raining. The boys sang. I read. About seven o'clock the Lieut. Avery came and told us we would be sent home in time or three weeks. We "Ohio" boys planned a reunion of Ohio C.O.'s to be held near Orrville. After discussing the question a while, [13] Steer went home and we retired.

Nov. 17. Sun. 1918. It rained Saturday night so that it was wet Sunday. We had good light and heat so we did not mind the rain. We had Sunday School in the morning. I read some and wrote some letters. In the afternoon I wrote letters and read again in "The Home" by Perkins. I wrote to E.A.S. Elmer, Clair & Mr. Cyrus B. Felzer. Not much doing in camp. In the evening we had a discussion in our tent on Social Problems. Should a man hate his rival in Love? Steer and I said no. Love should be unconquered. After a rather long discussion we held Bible Study. Corinthians I Chap 2-4. In the Kitchen Loewen and Staunton K.P.'d until noon. Loewen got sick and Staunton got a substitute. Hines tried to tell how hard he could work. Moore said he could not understand so Hines explained. He is some windy. "Have you ever worked on the railroad?" was the questions of all questions for a day or two. Should K.P.s go on at noon or [14] in morning? Can a man stand it to work all day? Horton laughs at the idea of getting tired of work in one day.

Nov. 15. Mon. 1918. A fine sunrise. I was on the wood lot until called in by the Lieut. to do typewriting. I made several copies of orders regarding Henry B. Thomas et al. They were arrested as draft evaders and now the extra charge is taken out of their wages. I wrote a typewritten letter to E.A. and one to the Chas. Williams Stores. The latter was in regard to a delayed order. Next I went to Paris to get pictures for Miller (D.F.) I got \$9.00 worth. Also paid a debt of 35c which I owed at the Carolina news store. We could not make the change before. I got Mardfins' trousers but had to wait on them. He did not like the work. Also got a box of peanut candy for \$1.10 and a box of chocolate candy at the canteen for \$1.20. Dinner. After dinner I cleaned up my suitcase in good shape and had Horton put on my initials. Gave him a 5c piece of candy to do it. He would take no pay. I sewed my [15] sox and shoes. The weather was quite cool. About 4:30 p.m. the workmen blew a stump out our lot through two wire fences. Rather dangerous.

An excellent supper. After supper we had a discussion in our tent on the tricks of a school boy etc. We retired late and Lantz and Brunk had a "tussel." Brunk took after Lantz and a shirt tail parade followed.

Report that Weston's discharge had come. I washed some clothing in the afternoon but I did not take a bath. Pretty cold for bathing. No Bible Meeting in the evening.

Nov. 19. Tuesday. 1918. A very fine morning. We made wood (our tent group) for the cooks and ourselves. Others make remarks about our wood-pile. I read the prophecy of Isaiah in part. The Lieut called me to do some typewriting. I answered several Memos and made copies of some correspondence regarding "Thomas" et. al.--men who as draft evaders made themselves liable to the gov't. I concluded that it was very difficult to pay anything to Uncle Sam in any other form [16] than ordinary taxes. Pegram went over to Hospital to see Griffith but he was unsuccessful.

My tooth began to ache so that I was anxious to lay off but I did typewriting for the morning. In the afternoon I went to the Hospital to see how soon Griffith would be back in the company. I got a pass to Ward 15 and there I met Bowser—a Mahoning Co.? man. He seemed very anxious to see me and we located Griffith to whom I gave three letters. He asked me about a package. I think he will be back soon for he was not transferred to Ward 26. Next Bowser took me to the Operative Room where I met Graber (Ed) and a Diller from Bluffton. These three boys—Graber, Diller & Bowser—seems to be lonesome and exceedingly anxious to go home. My idea is that these boys should be visited by some-one.

In the forenoon I got two letters—one from D.S. Gerig and the second from the Friends Service Committee. Gerig was interested in knowing my exact address so he could write me on a kind of business.—C.O. men in the [17] Army. The Friends wrote that they still expect me to go but have no definite information on my case. My toothache continued and so I spent the evening lying near the stove warming my head. Weston told of his Love affairs. Several men came into our tent to listen to the conversation. Finally all retired but myself. I did not sleep all night on account of the tooth. I was on the ground with my blankets so as to keep my head warm.

Nov. 20. Wednesday. 1918. Got out early for I had not slept all night. Spent some time after breakfast in Lieut. tent on correspondence and Daily Roster. The latter was lost but I planned the day's work. Then I went to my tent with a sore jaw. The fellows got tent floors in

this manner. A *Capt.* asked Levi Schlabach about our conditions. When told that we had no floors he saw that we got them. I warmed up my jaw from about nine o'clock a.m. to 9 p.m. then I tried to sleep and by the next morning I felt pretty good. Letters from Mr. & Mrs. N.W.S. and Miss E.A.S. Heard that *Abm. Zook* was home on furlough and that he was in Trade Tent Dept. [18]

Nov. 21. Thursday. I felt better after the toothache experience. but did not feel like doing much work. The fellows wanted me to go to Paris and to Library but I went only to the latter place and that in the evening. I did some work for the *Lieut.* in the Orderly tent. In the evening *Mr. Bowser* from North Lima called on me as I was alone in the orderly tent. We discussed army life as it concerns a C.O. He seemed to feel that the Mennonite Relief Committee did not meet the issue. I had been writing a letter to D.S.G. when he came and I finished it when he left. Slept well but got up tired next morning.

Nov. 22. Friday. Spent big part of day in office. *R.P. Weston* discharged and I did part of office work for that. Also wrote letters for *Lieut.* to men who were draft evaders. After supper *Steer, Horton & I* were in orderly [19] tent. Several orders came. I signed up for one & *Steer* for one. One of the men who brought the order said all C.O. men should be shot at sunrise. He never suspected that we were C.O. men—*Steer & I*. We talked things over. *Horton* told of his first impression of a C.O. when I and three others helped our cooks to start housekeeping in their tent. A ridiculous letter came for our *Lieut.* It was from a Mennonite who wanted to hire *Eli Yoder*.

I wrote six letters to send money to Secy of War for the Amish boys.

Nov. 23. Saturday. 1918. Cool damp & Cloudy. After breakfast I got out the detail men to saw wood etc. A special detail was planned to go to the Brigade Infirmary. It was made up of *Brunk, Diller, Beachy, Hayes & Hockett*. This was an experiment in our group. What are these men to do? Where are they going? Everybody asked. [20] I did not know. All I had been told to do was to arrange the detail. This caused a suspense until noon when the boys came back and said they had not worked. In a sense the mystery was not cleared even during the day.

During the morning I worked in the orderly tent. The most interesting event of the day was the "Battle Royal" between Majors Carrier & Horton, regarding the starving C.O. men. Someone complained about our board, I think it was Mangrin our orderly, or the Lieut. or Carrier. Major Carrier informed Major Mallon who informed Major Horton. The latter resented the roundabout manner of Maj. Carrier and called in Lieut. Avery. Soon Major Horton came to the orderly tent and had it with Major Carrier. Result. Horton our mess sergeant disgusted in trying to please everybody. C.O. men get extra big feeds. Many open belts about mealtime.

[21] Lt. Avery & Corporal Mangrin make out pay roll—work nearly all day. I had a haircut in p.m. De Rienzo came to us. He was not satisfactory to his boss at Ritter S.C. The "boss" seemed to try to impose on him. In p.m. Lantz and Diller imitate a dog fight and all C.O.s came out to see the fight. Several were disappointed.

While at supper Lt. Avery asked me to get out morning report so he could sign it on Sat. evening. Hines asked to go to Paris but was refused. I was given the right and made a large assortment of purchases.

I washed in the morning and clothes were dry by night. During the day the hopes for an early discharge were decreased. Reports were that we would be transferred first when the Company "I" was moved. [22]

Nov. 24. Sunday. 1918. I went on as a K.P. for the whole day. My associates were Prim, Hines & Loewen. Prim soon gave out and Hockett took his place. We had a big breakfast, a big dinner & a big supper. Things went nicely except at noon Acting mess sergeant Horton gave Hayes a severe "calling" for acting the hog at the table. After dinner Eggart Bowser & Gideon Amstutz came to see me. I went out with them for a hike. We walked out "past" the hospital farm. I got a ball of cotton in a field but I asked the "boss" for it. We talked over the C.O. proposition and the part played by Mennonite Relief Committee.

After supper the K.P.'s finished by five minutes after six. Record time. We had Sunday School and had an interesting discussion of the subject. How to win a brother. I wrote letters to Jesse Roth & Mrs. A.D. Krabill in the a.m. and one to E.A.S. in the eve. Retired. [23]

Nov. 25. Monday. 1918. I arranged to send out detail to Brigade Infirmary and to get the wood cutters etc. to work. Then I helped the Lieut. with the pay roll. We fixed it up and had the fellows sign it before noon.

After dinner the Lieut. called me and said the payroll was not good enough to hand in so we copied and corrected it. By four o'clock we had it complete. I then shaved and took a bath etc. After supper Henry Mangrin the orderly wanted some medicine from Paris and so I got it for him. Also got other things for the fellows. I got a letter from father and one from Friends Service Committee. The latter asks if men who applied for Reconstruction work are still ready to go. From Paris I sent five Thanksgiving cards to E.A.S., R.R.S., Jennie, D.F. & Melvin R.G. When I got back we had a meeting of the Ohio boys to arrange for a reunion. Election of officers resulted [24] as follows. J.C.M. pres. Alvin M. Brenneman v.Pres. Enos Moore Secy. Retired in good time.

Nov. 26. Tuesday. 1918. Breakfast late because the cooks had hard luck. After I arranged the detailed groups the Lt. called me in to do the typewriting. During the forenoon I read Emerson's Essays on Self Reliance, Love, and Friendship. I was struck by Emersons individuality. Also read "The Heart of a Rose," and some poetry. After dinner I wrote a Roster of C.O. men for the Lt. on the typewriter. The Major came and I went to my tent. Wrote letters to Cressman and Clair Moine. The day was cloudy and cool but it rained very little. In the evening I went to Paris to take four pairs of shoes to be repaired. Theo. Miller went along and bought a sheep lined coat for \$10. Later he sold it to Enos E. Moore. I got a letter from D.S.G. E.E. Miller and John Fisher regarding the Mennonite Relief Work.

Nov. 27. Wednesday. A nice day. We aired out blankets. I did the morning typewriting and then returned to my tent. Later I went to the Mess Hall to write my reply to the letter from D.S. [25] E.E.M. & J.F. which came the evening before. I got another letter from D.S.G. in the eve. As I see it the Relief Com. is not doing much and some are not satisfied. Mr. Bowser came to our tent in the evening and I talked it over a little with him. Why should the Mennonite Church not get into this work? In the afternoon I went to the library and Post Office. I sent a

cotton ball to E.A.S. and my letter to D.S.G. on the Recon. plan. I brought back several books for the C.O. men. In the eve. Levi Schlaback, Theo Miller and I went to Paris. They each bought a sheep coat for \$10. I got the shoes which I had repaired. When I returned Lantz asked me "whom do you know at col. Grove." He had a letter from E.A.S. from there. I also had a letter from D.S.G. The boys all teased me about my letter. Brunk feared I could not sleep & what not.

Bible study was late because of my talk with Mr. Eggart Bowser, Med. Det. B.H.

Retired late but in good spirits. D.S.G.'s letter made me meditate. [26]

Nov. 28. Thanksgiving Morn. Rain, rain, rain. We got up late. Had no roll call but I had to typewrite the report for the Lt. when the other boys went to breakfast. After breakfast I went to the tent and read in Petrarchs Sonnets, and Isaiah. Also wrote some letters. During the day I wrote to Elmer, Joseph Giona, Lester Hostetler, Jesse N. Smucker and Ray Eschleman. A big dinner. Officers ate first. We had turkey, dressing, potatoes, celery, apples, peaches, cranberry sauce, giblet gravy, olives, bread, cake, jello, pumpkin pie, deviled eggs, nuts, "cigars and cigarettes." The major, lieut. & orderly and their wives ate for a long time and then took a supply along to the orderly tent. After we had finished the Lt. seemed to want to make a clean sweep of the apples, cake, cigars etc. but Horton failed his attack by hiding a good part of the goods.

I spent the p.m. writing letters. Supper after retreat. Just a cold lunch. After supper I mailed four letters and had one to mail the next day. A report from the Lt. indicates that we move across [27] the Railroad next Monday. Gill the orderly seems to think that Reconstruction men will be furloughed next week. I doubt if either of these reports is true. The weather has been rainy. Some of the boys seem a bit tired of camp life.

Bible study quite intersting Corinthians 8. and the origins of Thanksgiving.

Nov. 29. Friday. 1918. A fine day. I helped to cut wood almost until noon. Pegram's tent caught fire and there was some excitement. Lt. ordered that fires should be left to go out during day. I shaved and bathed in cold water in p.m. Washed clothes in a.m. I read in Petrachs sonnets. I got a letter from E.A.S. and one from Bernice Lehman. The latter reports that films of

swaps taken at Columbus Grove were not good. I wrote to E.A.S. Also to French Embassy and Albert Teachers Agency. Asked the Embassy if passport vise would be granted. Asked Teaching Agency if positions are open. After supper I was Paris. Got two boxes of [28] candy etc. etc.

Made C.O. roster of Buckeye boys. Cooks and Mess Sgt. report that Thanksgiving Dinner Cost \$51.19. No Bible Study.

Nov. 30. Sat. Cloudy. After breakfast I got up a detail of volunteers to cut wood. We filled the box to the capacity. About eight oclock 18 men were detailed to go to the corral to do some work. Lt. Avery asked the fellows to let fires go out. When the 18 men came back for dinner they were not very well pleased with the treatment which they had rec'd. In the afternoon we were put to work replacing the Lt. tent by a new brown one. Just as we were ready to eat dinner the Lt. said we were to unload a wagon. It had about 20 bunks and four tents on it. This goods we placed in the supply tent after dinner. The Lt. told me how to make out reports in the morning because he was not going to be there. Kelly Murphy was assigned to our company in the afternoon. I wrote some forms to send money to Sec'y Baker. Also [29] a list of Buckeye boys with addresses. In the eve I went to Paris. Bible study.

Dec. 1. Sunday. Cloudy. I made out the morning reports. To my surprise I found that the 18 men at Whitehall were reported "on duty" here since Nov. 27. Where are they is a question we cannot answer. Sunday School in our tent. I read in Isaiah and in Genesis. Lesson. Joseph sold to Egypt. After dinner I wrote to N.W.S., Elmer, J.E. Harley & Ben. It sleeted in p.m. Bible study in evening. Cold night.

Dec. 2. Monday. A nice day. Some of boys objected to the new plan of sending them to work at Headquarters. There was considerable trouble in camp and I was almost discouraged because of the situation. I was busy for a part of time on wood detail and later on office work. We had Bible Study in evening. I had been to Paris with four pairs of shoes but the cobbler would fix none now. I came back with but three pairs of shoes so I had to go back [30] to Paris. I took films along for Hampton. He bought them from Sergeant Dooley and we are getting

pictures from him. Dooley charged 10c a picture. We hope to get them cheaper. I bought oranges and apples and candy. Retired early. Cold night.

Dec. 3. Tuesday. Cold morning. I worked on wood detail until 10 a.m. then policed a little. The rest of day I spent in orderly office writing on machine. Report current that C.O. men are to be sent home soon.

Considerable agitation over new move to work men. Whitehall boys came to us. Had been delayed on acct of boss who was gone for a week when order came. The idea of sending a detail to Headquarters does not appeal to some men. The whole attitude in camp is one of slight depression on account of this work. The Lt. and Major seem to have but one alternative work or stockade.

Dec. 4. Wednesday. Nice weather. We began to let in details of 36. The whole [31] group is divided into thirds and one third has to wait each meal.

I went out on wood detail but soon I was called back to typewrite an order for the Lt. One was an indorsement about Julius Huntley. Another was a Memo. to Hq. regarding conditions here. Pegram asked me to write a Roster of C.O. men for postmaster. Lt. Pegram and I discussed theology until Major came. He told how he put Whitehall boys to work. I left the Lt. tent when Lt. and Major began to play checkers.

From then until noon I loafed most of the time. I had some clothing to wash after dinner. Before dinner I gave out the mail and almost made a mistake. When I got to tent two I said "Wehr Lebt do" and to my surprise Lt. Avery was there all by himself.

After dinner I helped carry tent floors for the new boys. Next I went on detail for Lt. at supply house. We hauled coal, two loads. I got my first impression of the detail work. [32] The Whitehall boys seemed rather worried because we worked so much. When I came back from detail work I helped stretch up a new tent for cooks. Next I got my \$30 pay from Lt. Next we moved Brenneman to cooks tent. After supper I went to Paris. Walter Martin Loewen, & Hines were along. After we returned I sold my oranges candy etc. Also got pictures for Hampton.

Dec. 5. Thurs. The most important event of day was a report from Wash. D.C. that C.O. men be discharged. Maj. Carrier came over in the morning and was very anxious to see Lt. Avery who was over at Hq. The Maj. told Horton something but we knew not what. At noon I asked Horton about dishes. He told me some men would soon leave. After dinner Major Carrier came with the discharge orders. Lt. Avery asked me to write memo to Personnell office reporting men for discharge. Late that evening a return report came calling for all North Carolina men to report for Physical Exam. [33] We began to work on discharge papers.

Dec. 6. Fri. Discharge work all day. There were so many forms to get out that we got busy early in the morning. Steer and I with some help from Lassiter did most of the office work. Reports current that all men will be sent to within 350 miles from home for discharge. Buckeye boys may be sent to Camp Taylor. I was very tired by night.

Dec. 7. Sat. Steer and I got busy early and worked until 2 p.m. when the boys left for trains. They felt happy as larks. Pegram reported that they had a little trouble at Quartermaster Dept. but on the whole all went well.

Griffith (a negro) returned from the hospital Fri. eve. Sat. eve he refused to stand at attention. Sat. p.m. he preached to us almost under order of Lt. Avery. Some sermon in Mess Hall. After the sermon Lt. Avery left me in charge of orderly tent. I cleared away the old papers and arranged matters. Also [34] wrote two letters—to E.A.M. & E.J.M. Next Lt. Avery asked me to arrange paper to prefer charges against the four or six draft evaders. Steere and I worked at it after supper but it is a difficult task for the laws conflict. Retired late and tired.

Dec. 8. Sun. 1918. A fine day. In a.m. I took a cold bath & shaved. Also taught S.S. Griffin the negro preacher attended S.S. and gave us a few amens but no disturbance. Lt Avery & Major Carrier were present at noon. After dinner I decided to write. I wrote to E.A.S. half the letter then Steer and I took a long hike to the Mts. Scenery very beautiful. After supper I finished my letter to E.A.S. and wrote a card to Mrs. D.S.S. in reply to a letter of Dec 7. Bible study quite intersting. Report to discharge Ohio boys. Great news.

Dec. 9. Mon. 1918. A very busy day on discharge work. Steer and I worked practically all day in Lieut. office. Adams and Hobson on discharge list. I got a letter from father and one from [35] Friends Service Committee. Former told of Uncle Albert on way to Iowa. Latter told of my "open way" to France. Pa also told that Clara & Adelea had Flu in slight form.

Everyone worked up over reports but we were not sure just when we were to leave and no doubt we must go via Camp Taylor.

Dec. 10. Tues. Steer & I worked all forenoon in office. Very much work but no sure evidence of our going out soon. Letter from Clair & and a card from D.F. Read some in Vebleu's theory of leisure class. Di Rienzo, Jordan & McClure may be sent out soon; their records are lost but we made temporary ones in place of the originals. Outlook for early departure not very good. Boys who worked at Hq. report a good day's work.

Dec. 11. Wed. Spent most of day in Orderly tent on records of Hobson & Adams who left at noon. Also worked on records of Di Rienzo, Jordan, McClure, Daniel, Cooper & Guthrie. All these men are to leave tomorrow. Ohio boys seem to be delayed very much. A report that we shall [36] go out soon because the C.O. detachment is to move to Camp Jackson Saturday. Major Carrier seems to think we may be held a while. Especially does he wish to keep the group intact. Lt. Avery prefers to get rid of all men as soon as they are available. Service records of several men came these last few days. Bible meeting on I Corinthians 15. Pretty well attended. No news for Buckeye boys.

Dec. 12. Thurs. Work in office again. Six men left today—Di Reinzo, McClure, Jordan, Guthrie, Daniel, & Cooper. William Shore, Thomas and Candle billed to leave tomorrow. They were draft evaders and their charges were set aside. Service records of Ohio boys came back from Personnel office in a.m. Thomas left at noon and had no idea when he would go home. Tonight he is almost certain he will leave tomorrow. After supper Steer & I were to Paris. Bible study I Corinthians Chap 16. A late report that Mardfin & Staunton should be ready to go at any time. [37]

Dec. 13. Friday. 1918. Rainy morning. When detail was to be sent out few men reported. Corp. Mangrin made remarks as to how he would make the men go. He himself is possibly the laziest man in the company. It does not look right for the C.O. men to be sent to work when it is so wet. But such is the life of a C.O.

Major Carrier & his orderly came to play checkers. What does Carrier do anyway? Nothing! seems to be the answer from C.O. men and Lt. Avery. Our chances to get out today our nil. here's hoping it will not be long. A letter from Camp Wadsworth Spartanburg S.C. reports that the Board of Inquiry was there and here we have Monroe Schlabach who ought to be interviewed and he is not reposted there. Such is army life. Today Candle, Shore and Thomas are to leave for home. That will make a total of 26 men discharged inc. Weston who went out on a disability discharge.

Dec. 14. Sat. Rainy day but the detail of C.O.'s went to Hq. anyway. I spent all day in orderly tent. Orders came for Staunton and Mardfin to go to Camps Dix & Devers. Lt. worked on our service records for [38] orders came whereby we are to go to Camp Taylor Ky. Steer & I spent the eve writing transfers to Camp Taylor. I had written the charges against McKay and they together with records for Mardfin & Staunton went in before 5:30 p.m. Hopes to get out soon good. Trip to Paris for Steer & I.

Dec. 15. Sun. 1918. Griffin? preached in the forenoon. Some would not stay but I did. I think the Dr. heard him and he may get a disability discharge thru it. Staunton and Mardfin left for the train at 11:50. Got thru O.K. Lt. asked me to get report of goods turned in by men of Ohio early tomorrow. Cloudy day. No news as to where we should depart. Several of the boys took a long hike in the afternoon up to the mountains. We had Sunday school in the evening. Letters J.B.C. E.A.S.

Dec. 16. Monday. Rain, rain, rain. The Lt. had some of us to check up, and clean up the surplus mess kits. Major Carrier and his orderly came. Several reports that we would not go or that we would go [39] during the next week. No news except reports that we are to leave on the 23rd. The outlook was not good for a Xmas Dinner at home. A letter from Orie B. and one from

D.G.G. Orie sailed at 10 a.m. Dec. 14. D.S. still interested in Relief Work. We had meeting in the eve. II Cor. 2. Griffith was present and took part. The theme was—sorrow or anguish vs. love as a means of salvation. I had a haircut by Steer. This day was a rather gloomy one. We all looked for news. Horton and Cavanaugh our cooks left. It seems everyone goes but the Buckeyes. I wrote to Albert Teachers Agency turning down the job offered at Marquette Mich for \$1500. Also wrote to B.C. and Elmer.

Dec. 17. 1918. Cloudy in a.m. A detail of men went to police around Headquarters. I worked in the Lieutenants tent. We did the regular work and turned in 54 blankets and thirty bed-sacks at quartermasters. Avery sent me to get receipts. The officer laughed at me when I saluted. He thought I had just given up the uniform never thinking that [40] I never had one. No receipt was given but he said he would send one. Returning I got two books at the Library. Sent post cards to E.A. & Jennie. In the afternoon I made an inventory of our stock on hand preparatory to sending it to quartermaster. Everyone "downcast" because no news came for us to depart. I tried to laugh at our predicament. Wrote a letter to E.A.S. Had an interesting Bible Study class. II Corinthians 3. Also made a package for Hampton.

Dec. 18. Fine day. Did office work, then got goods ready for quartermaster. Some was wet from washing yesterday. I tried to dry it at our stoves. No news. Major came to play checkers. This is a daily occurrence. After dinner we took six barracks bags of goods to quartermaster. All O.K. except one belt missing. Avery threw his into the "bargain." McKay had to leave his shoes there because one other pair did not match. I went to Sub. depot Q.M. Capt. Kliber with the invoice tent. Next I went to [41] post office with intent to locate letter sent to Scy Baker. Had another inquiry made.

I rec'd a card from Library reporting a book due. I could not find it so Steer & I went to look into the matter after supper. We met Horton at Cooks & Bakers school. He informed us that he turned the book in that afternoon. He and Cavanaugh had taken it along. All O.K. Horton said they were to leave tomorrow. Steer & I went to Paris. Later we had Bible Study. Most of discussion was on hypnotism, sorcery, spiritualism, etc.

I had a letter from E.A.S. A report came to the effect that Harvey Hinshaw, Hurley and Marrion Shore had been recalled to C.O. Det. from Phila. Corp. Mangren left for home.

Dec. 19. A cold day but very clear. I worked in office and on wood detail. Checked up on goods. Everyone wondered about orders. No news except rumors. I began to feel that we would be held here a long time. Read in Ethics. Not very busy. In the evening I wrote to Cressman and home. Bible study very interesting. [42]

Dec. 20. Routine of office work and wood detail in morning. No news until after supper when message came to leave Monday Dec. 23. 7:30 a.m. Before supper I had written Di Rienzo about some charges against him due to his being recalled from Ritter. Camp was all joy at our going. Shall we get home by Xmas? I fear no. Trip to Paris. Large pictures for \$1.25 with Det. plainly visible. I ordered 13 of them. Bible study. II Cor. Chap. 5. A new atmosphere. We had all become downcast because of the long delay.

Dec. 21. 1918. Rain, rain, rain, No detail so every one was at home. I worked on records in forenoon. Also tried to arrange matters regarding mess kits etc. for our trip. Afternoon Steer & I went to Greenville to get some things. Got back in time for supper. I got a new pen with moeny \$2.10 given me by the boys who are going home. Once before they gave me \$3.25. After supper I had a long chat with postmaster. Then I asked all who are to leave into mess hall. We sold mitt & ball for 75c. Decided to give our mess outfit to Y.W.C.A. of Greenville S.C. [43] Also decided to give one pitcher to postmaster. A few men want souvenirs from the outfit. We also planned about "demeanor" on the way to Camp Taylor. All went well. All retired with light hearts except Monroe Schlabach is disappointed because he is not going home. No Bible study.

[End Book Three]

Dec. 22. Sunday. Rainy in a.m. We prepared to leave. Emptied our bedsacks. No S.S. in morning. After dinner Steer, Enos Wengerd and I went out to rifle range.. Next I went to Hospital with Bowser and Amstutz to see Graber. I found him in office. After that I went to Paris with Moore & Enos Wengerd to get oranges and pictures. Could not get the latter. We had

Sunday School in the evening, Bowser, Diller (Elmer) and Amstutz were present. Retired late on poor bunks because we had no straw. During the day I wrote several memorandiums. Also letters to Cressman & D.S.G.

Dec. 23. Monday. Arose at four and worked in office. At 7:00 a.m. we went to mustering office. Waited until noon then went back to the C.O. Detachment for Dinner. After dinner we were to report again at mustering office. [2] In the meantime we got our pictures of the camp. Nofzinger got a telegram reporting death of sister-in-law. He sent a return message and I sent one to E.A. at Camp Taylor. We reported in good time at mustering office and left Sevier at 2:30 bound for Taylor. All were in one car which was a tourist pullman for 47 people. Several carloads were disappointed but luck was in our favor.

Soon after we got started we got two loaves of bread for every three men. We did not move very fast and the trip is long since we are going thru Atlanta.

When seven o'clock came we all retired. Steer and I slept in the lower berth. Enos Moore slept above. We had a good night's sleep.

Dec. 24. Morning found us near Rome GA still raining. By noon [3]—about 11:30—we were at the Chattanooga station. There we paraded for about 20 minutes then we got some coffee if we wanted it—and boarded our car. The Red Cross woman gave us some cards but she wanted no money. We—Moore and I gave her 50c as a donation. I wrote one to E.A.S. The scenery is beautiful. We have seen Lookout Mountain.

Our parade was quite an affair. We took it all calmly and got along nicely. Left Chattanooga at 1:05 p.m. Soon Major Ward came into our car and called for all "soldiers" to assemble. He told about keeping the uniforms and wearing the chevrons. We were not considered soldiers. Are we in the army. I guess not. Beautiful scenery for 75 miles along a ridge. We had no dinner but ate some of our extra bread. Moore, Steer & I ate one loaf. At Oakdale Tenn. we ate supper—ham—tomatoes & bread. Reports that we are to arrive tonight at 10 p.m. A good nights sleep. Lantz & I slept in the upper berth we got thru night. [4]

Dec. 25. 1918. Arrived in camp at about 4 o'clock but did not get off train until nine o'clock. Then we went to Personnel Office. After roaming about we finally arrived at the Utilities Division at a Receiving Station. There I met E.A. We were given a med. Inspection and sent back for mess. At about 11 o'clock. After mess we went again taken out to find a place. We located and had a little trouble getting a place for our trunks. We were "bawled out" some during the day but we were accustomed to it. Finally all was settled nicely. We did not go for mess at noon and at night we got no food but we were not especially hungry. Things look well but we hope to get out soon for we want to go home. I wrote a letter to Adella. [5]

Dec. 26. 1918. A cold day with snow. We got breakfast and went back to barrack. We did the cleaning up and firing etc. The Lt. took four of us on a detail to get toilet paper. At noon the mess sargeant ordered us to wait until all soldiers were served. It seemed humiliating but we just went back after all others and got our food. The soldiers were silent except to discuss matters. We decided to go back for supper. After dinner we got an extra blanket apiece. I took a bath and silence. While at it a man discussed our stand with me. I explained. He was sympathetic. At supper we waited until last. Some of the soldiers sympathized with us again. Abrm Zook and E.A. called in the p.m. and again at night E.A. came. We had a long visit. He gave me a box of candy. Several of us went for supper and though there was a large crowd we got well fed finally. After supper Emanuel called and brought some other fellows with him. He went back late and I retired. [6]

Dec. 27. 1918. I got up early and began to write a letter to J.S. Gerig. Some of us went out for breakfast. After mess the C.O. men were called out and taken to the C.O. of 3d regiment. He asked someone to come in. I went in and he asked me why I had no uniform. I explained. Then he asked about pay. Again I explained. He dismissed me and we all went back. They told us to stay around here. Steer & I swept our room. Then I wrote three letters, one to J.S. Gerig, one to S.E. Allgyer, and one to D.D. Miller. Ten boys were called out to work on a detail. That caused a little worry but we hope for the best. The attitude of the boys here around us is very good. I did not go to dinner but some of the others did. We generally plan to have a delegation,

go in a meal, to witness that we are not afraid. In the p.m. all the boys seemed very much discouraged. We were called out and about one half of the group were named to go for physical exam. Report that our discharge is to be dated Jan 1st. 1919. Will we get home sooner? Very cloudy day.

In the eve E.A. & several C.O. men came to see us. Adam Mumaw was one of them. E.A. & I discussed affairs a little boh in army and [7] out. We decided that the morals of an army man are not very good. What will be the effect of camp life on the civil life of the future. Retired late.

Dec. 28. 1918. About 3:40 a.m. two fellows came frou Louisville drunk. Some stir ere they were settled. We got up rather late and went to breakfast. This was to be the last meal with the 4th Co. Things went pretty good lately. No yelling. Before noon we were taken to the orderly Room barrack. There we were roll called by our medical slips. All C.O. men got thru O.K. but only a few signed papers. Dinner at home in barrack for us for we felt our time was too short to go to 4th Co for there we had to wait until last. After dinner we again went to 3d. Co. Lt.- Lectured to us about discipline and records. He said we were due at 9 a.m. Sunday at the same place. Also Monday at 8 a.m. for physical exam. We went home and a transfer was made whereby are landed at the 3d Co. Hq. barracks. Seven C.O. men had been detailed ere we returned from the afternoon detail. After we settled at 3d Co. we were called out for retreat. Next came supper after which we were practically all listed for [8] K.P. work on the morrow. Steer and I went to see the 1st Sgt. as regards the time and also as regards the detail of the morrow. The fear that we would be detained by the transfer of the p.m. Cast a slight shadow on our hopes.

Dec. 29. 1918. Went on K.P in 3d Co. We fed many men and got along nicely. Of course it was Sunday work but as long as I eat on Sunday I suppose I ought to work. Several C.O. boys called on us among them Adam Mumaw. I got off in the p.m. and E.A. and I walked a long way over camp. The top sargent got me to sign transportation in the a.m. and another sargent got me to sign the pay roll after supper. Three of our men not on pay roll. We were

asked to K.P. again Monday. We did not like to take a regular job but we felt ready to do our part. Several of the cooks, the mess sergeant and the top sergeant all wanted us to do it.

We were billed to have a Medical Exam in the forenoon tomorrow. Finally it was arranged that we were to K.P. a part of Monday. Emanuel came over in the eve and we had a chat till time to go to bed. He brought several pictures with him [9] & was especially interested in one or two pictures of Josephine Lehman. She looks like Stella Detweiler if these were good photos. The whole attitude of the boys is rather strange—anxious to get home. Every transfer has made it hard for us until we get accustomed to the new place and its workings. Men who are over us do not understand. I am disappointed because of not getting out in time for the Elida Conference. Then too I do not like to go thru this breaking in again.

Dec. 30. Monday. On K.P. until 8 a.m. then we were examined. We wore our overcoats for the exam. Mine marked me as a C.O. and several of the men asked me about it. I passed easily and never had any trouble. We passed thru in the order which we got ready. I could have been first but I left a soldier ahead. Back on the K.P. job at 10. The question arose as to K.P. work every day. It was finally decided that we get off tomorrow. Enos Moore talked to the Cook & Mess sergeant. The questioned him as regards his religion and the idea of not accepting pay. They bragged on our K.P. work. Some of our fellows helped to cook. Our whole idea was to try to get along for a few days for we expected to go home [10] very soon. When first we knew that our Papers were being made up we found out that our discharge papers were to be white like the regular soldiers. Why I do not know! Our order from Wash D.C. seems to be plain and clear that we are not to get those. We signed the transportation slips and pay roll on Sunday. Today we had the examination. Tomorrow we expect to sign the discharges and Wednesday we expect to leave. While we were in the mess hall the Lt. came. He asked about our clothes. I explained that we were C.O. men. Then the Capt. came. He told the cook that several hundred men would leave in the next few days. It began to rain towards evening. We finished up early and I went home. In my barrack I found E.A. and Dan Hostetler. E.A. brought me some mail from Mrs. Garnett who offers me a sweater. Also a letter from father, one from Lester Hostetler on

Reconstruction Work and one from the Service Committee telling me [11] that I could probably sail Feb. 1st if I got to Phila about Jan. 15th.

E.A. Dan Host. and the rest of us had a good visit after which they went back and we retired. All the men in our barrack left today except the ones in our room.

Everyone is very anxious to go home. Each day makes us more anxious of course I have given up attending the Elida Conference for I shall get home too late even if we leave here Wednesday. Tomrrow (Tuesday) I expect to wash.

Dec. 31. I was off duty most of the day for I had K.P.'d twice in succession. We signed up a few papers etc. In the evening E.A. came to see us. He almost stayed with us but he preferred to go home and get some towels for Steer & I. Rain. Last night of year.

[1919]

Jan 1. Rain. All morning we stood in line carrying in blankets, mess ktis etc. And getting money, ticket etc. [12] By one oclock we the Lousiville & Nashville men of whom I was one were to leave. About 11:30 they took us out first for a sandwich then to car. Three trolleys took us to Broadway station where we got discharges. At one twenty five we left for Cinci. Changed there at about 6 p.m. Columbus at 9 p.m. and got to *Jan. 2* Orrville at 2:40 a.m. called for phone but found none. At three oclock I walked to Noahs. Called home and told them not to come after me so soon as I indicated in telegram from Col. Elida conference postponed. I stayed at Noahs and D.S. Schrocks until noon except I went to Orrville with D.S.

Got home about 4 o'clock, worked on chores. Father came home from Canton funeral of Mary Graber. Ma and Jennie to funeral of Ida Steiner. Wrote letters in eve to Cressman, Azarroga, Service Committee, E.A. & Nofzinger. Very tired so I retired. Elmer went to Moine's. a dramatic club meeting.

Text

Although a version of Jacob C. Meyer's diary was published in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* in 1967, the original diary manuscript is used as this edition's copy-text. The *Mennonite Quarterly Review* edition was heavily edited and revised by Meyer himself, yet the author's 1918 holograph more clearly show his feelings and perceptions about the Great War at the time of his experiences, rather than fifty years later. Because this edition privileges immediacy as the special province of the diary mode, retaining Meyer's original diary manuscript seemed significant. Both the annotated typescript of his diary as well as the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* article proved valuable in expanding or clarifying information found in Meyer's diary; when useful, this information has been included in the diary's commentary.

Meyer's diary manuscript is part of an extensive Jacob Conrad Meyer collection at the Archives of the Mennonite Church in Goshen, Indiana. In actuality, Meyer kept three diary books during the Great War: one covering the period July 25 to September 22, 1918; another from September 23 to November 4, 1918; and a third from November 5 until Dec. 22. A fourth and fifth book detail the end of his conscription and his journey to France with Friends reconstruction. This edition prints only the entries Meyer wrote until his discharge and return home from military camp, ending with the entry for January 1, 1919.

The first two of Meyer's three diary books is in physical appearance similar to a stenographer's pad or reporter's notebook: oblong, narrow, and with a cardboard cover bound to the pages with string. The pages in both books are lined, with a one inch margin unlined space at the top of each page. This margin Meyer mostly ignored, save for the first page in the first book, which begins on the first line. Meyer thus filled the pages completely, writing from one edge of the page to the other, and from the top of the page to its very bottom. There are no pre-printed page numbers or dates in either book; Meyer also did not number his pages although, of course, he dated every entry.

Meyer most likely purchased the third diary book at a Camp Jackson canteen. Its cover has a large illustration of the American flag with the words "Old Glory" drawn in ornate fashion. The third diary is a composition book, as the printing on the cardboard cover's bottom indicates. With a cloth binding, Meyer's third diary was perhaps more hardy than the first two, though after eighty years the cover also betrays its wear and the back cover, on which Meyer wrote his final entry, is taped together. As with his first diary books, Meyer covered every possible space in the third with writing, filling the one inch margin at the top of each page, and writing from the paper's left edge to its right. As with diary books one and two, Meyer wrote the third in heavy dark ink. This and his fair hand makes most of his work easily decipherable. Usually his writing only becomes difficult to read when he seems in a hurry to complete an entry, or is composing under a candle's dim lights, the electricity having gone out in his cantonment.

Because Meyer did not wish to indict his friends under Espionage and Sedition laws should anyone confiscate his diary, he often resorts to the use of abbreviations when writing about those outside of camp. When the people about whom Meyer writes are deemed significant to understanding his text, their full identity is revealed in the commentary. Otherwise, the reader should consider the abbreviated names as friends and correspondents from Goshen College or from Meyer's home community. Any other "cryptic" language (as Meyer later termed it) has not been decoded in the text itself, so that the reader might understand and appreciate Meyer's writing as it was in 1918, while he was detained; passages that seem especially enigmatic are explained further in notes.

Textual Notes

- 287.5 the word here is indecipherable because of Meyer's obscured handwriting, although the word appears to be strict, which would make sense given the context of the sentence.
- 287.6 Two marginal notes, written in Meyer's distinct hand, explain that these people are "home community folks" and the "parents of" a cousin who was killed in an accident at Camp Dodge. This marginalia appears to have been written much later, perhaps when Meyer was annotating his diary for the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* article.
- 294.18 Above this, Meyer has written "(see below J.E. Esch)," another note apparently written later; the pen mark is different, and there are slight alterations in Meyer's hand.
- 297.24 In his diary, Meyer wrote an entry for September 20, followed by an entry for September 19. In the margin next to the September 20 entry, Meyer wrote "see below"; a long line is drawn vertically next to the September 19 entry.
- 316.20-22 Meyer drew an arrow in the left margin from the words "At retreat" up to "furloughs."
- 317.3 In the first few pages of diary three, Meyer lists the conscientious objectors in his detachment, cataloging them by denomination and including as well their hometowns; this list has not been included in this edition's text of Meyer's diary.
- 319.22 Meyer drew a horizontal line from the left margin to the page's center between the entry from November 9 and that for November 10.

- 323.8 Meyer affixed a short newspaper clipping to page 16. The article, distributed by International News Service, is headlined "Mennonites Wink at Religion to Help War." The article reads, in part, "The Mennonites have finally found a way to wink at their creed and help the United States in the war . . . The money of Mennonites is deposited with the bankers who are 'wise to the game.' The bankers apply the deposits to the purchase of Liberty bonds and then issue certificates of deposit to the members. At the expiration of ten years, depositors can claim bonds or their equivalent in money."
- 325.17 Between pages 22 and 23, Meyer sandwiched a sheet of paper detailing his expenses in September 1919. The page appears to be a deposit certificate from the National Provincial Bank of England, though Meyer uses it to list what he spent during his tour of the London area; when the page was disposed in Meyer's Great War diary is unclear.
- 331.8 Meyer left a space of about one inch after writing "Clair &," as if he were trying to remember a name but could not, so left a space for later recall.
- 334.19-22 This is written on the back cover of diary book three.

Emendations

Each emendation is keyed to the appropriate page and line number. This edition follows the standard lemma form of reporting emendations: the accepted reading appears to the right, followed by a bracket and then the copy text reading. The following symbols will also be used in this list:

- < > passage deleted by the author
- ↑ ↓ authorial interlineations
- ~ portion of copy text reading agreeing with this edition's reading.
- ^ absence of item in the copy text which is found in this edition

- 281.8 July 27. Saturday.] *Sat.*
- 281.10 July 28. Sunday.] *Sun.*
- 281.16 officers and non-coms] ~ ↑ and non-coms ↓
- 281.23 Aug. 1. Thursday.] < July > ↑ *Aug. 1* ↓
- 282.13 Sargeant] S < e > argeant
- 282.25 Aug. 5. Monday.] *Monday* ↑ Aug 5 ↓
- 285.1 Aug. 10. Saturday.] Saturday ↑ Aug 10 ↓
- 285.22 sergeant] se < a > rgeant
- 286.8 Lieut.] < Capt > ~
- 286.12 read in] ~ ↑ in ↓
- 287.15 canteen in p.m.] ~ ↑ in p.m. ↓
- 287.19-20 account of letter] ~ ↑ of letter ↓
- 288.11 Aug. 23. Friday] *Aug. 23. Friday.*
- 289.24 Aug. 25. Sun.] Sun. 25.
- 290.5 Asked] < In p > ~
- 291.1 "canteen"] < la > ~

- 291.23 Clark] clark < e >
- 291.23 anticipation] < preparation > ↑ anticipation ↓
- 291.27 First] < second > ↑ First ↓
- 293.4-5 came Sept. 2] ↑ came Sept. 2 ↓
- 293.11 "Don't] ^ ~
- 293.16 had at 4:30] ~ ↑ at 4:30 ↓
- 295.8 "Niggers"] ^ ~ "
- 297.14 \$4.00, lemons] ↑ \$4.00, ↓ ~
- 297.19 Y.M. \$2.10 stamps] ~ ↑ \$2.10 stamps ↓
- 297.24 Sept. 20. Fri.] < Thurs > ↑ Fri ↓ Sept. < 19 > ↑ 20 ↓
- 299.3 All Boys] ↑ All ↓ ~
- 299.9 us on] ~ ↑ on ↓
- 299.27 -1st"] ~ ^
- 301.9 in the] < with > ↑ in ↓ ~
- 302.25 Oct. 1.] < Sept > ~
- 303.16 Oct. 2.] < Sept > ↑ Oct ↓ ~
- 307.5 P.O.] < town > ~
- 308.6 business)] ~ ^
- 308.21 Oct. 15.] ~ < 14 > ↑ 15 ↓
- 309.1 Oct. 16. Wed.] < indecipherable > ↑ *Wed* ↓ *Oct. 16: 18.*
- 309.25 Lieut.] < Majo > ~
- 311.21 Geog. J.W. Steer] ~ ↑ J.W. Steer ↓
- 314.23 built or began] ~ ↑ or began ↓
- 319.23 as is common] < t > ↑ as is ↓ ~
- 322.7 Loewen and] < Hines > ↑ Loewen ↓ ~
- 322.8 Loewen got] < Hines > ↑ Loewen ↓ ~
- 322.19 He . . . work. Also] ↑ He did not like the work ↓ ~

- 324.3 from Mr. &] ~ ↑ Mr. & ↓
- 324.23 the Brigade] ↑ the ↓ ~
- 326.13 Nov. 26. Tuesday. 1918.] *Tuesday Nov. 26, 1918.*
- 328.3 After supper] ~ ↑ supper ↓
- 329.3 Dec. 3.] < No > ↑ Dec. 3. ↓
- 330.2 Maj. Carrier] ↑ Maj. ↓ ~
- 330.26 discharge ohio boys. Great news] ~ ↑ ohio boys. Great news. ↓
- 331.4 Flu] Flu < e >
- 331.11 good day's] ~ < indecipherable > ↑ day's ↓
- 331.18 Corinthians 15] ~ < indecipherable > ↑ 15 ↓
- 332.14 service] < orders > ~
- 332.18 Griffin?] ~ ↑ ? ↓
- 333.7 Dec. 17.] ~ < 16 > ↑ 17 ↓
- 334.2 Det.] ~ < indecipherable >
- 334.17 After] < In the eve > ~
- 335.4 Dec. 23. Monday.] *Monday. Dec 23*
- 335.18 wrote] ~ < mailed >
- 337.3 1919] 191 < 8 > ↑ 9 ↓
- 337.9 Dec. 28. 1918.] *Dec. 28, 1918*
- 337.23 Dec. 29. 1918.] *Dec. 29, 1918*
- 338.4 of Monday] ~ < Tuesday > ↑ Monday ↓
- 338.11 Dec. 30. Mon.] *Mon. Dec. 30*
- 339.7 here Wednesday] ~ < tomorrow > Wednesday
- 339.8 Dec. 31.] *Dec. 31*
- 339.12 Jan. 1.] *Jan. 1st*

Commentary

- 281.3 Sterling: Meyer's hometown, located in Mennonite-rich Wayne County, Ohio, some sixty miles south of Cleveland.
- 281.4 J.S. and John Gerigs: John Gerig was the cousin of Meyer's father; his son was Meyer's roommate at Goshen College, and was at the time of Meyer's writing detained at Camp Sherman, Ohio. J.S. Gerig was Bishop of the Oak Grove Amish Mennonite congregation, of which Meyer was a member.
- 281.6 Farewells at Orrville: Orrville was and is a predominantly Mennonite community located in Wayne County, Ohio. Meyer later wrote about his "farewells" that "My father and mother were considerably worried about me, for they seemed to feel that I was determined, stubborn, courageous, or what, and might get very severe treatment in the army. Father had been a conscript on two occasions in France about the time of the Franco-Prussian War so he knew something of army life . . . I allowed myself not a single tear in all these farewells and smiled as I waved the last goodbye. This was deliberate and carefully planned lest my aged parents would be worried the more." In a letter to Esther Steiner he wrote "I have concluded that the hardest part of the experience is that of the parents and those who remain at home."
- 281.6 Covington: Covington is located in western Ohio. Meyer's troop train must have headed west from Orrville, then turned south at Covington, running through Kentucky and Tennessee to Atlanta before turning east to Camp Jackson, South Carolina.
- 281.15 Sergeant Springer: Although Springer is considered a name common to Mennonites, there is no indication that Meyer's sergeant was a

Mennonite. Meyer said of Sergeant Springer that, although he was a fifteen year veteran of the army, he could not pronounce "necessity" and "necessary" when reading to the objectors from the Manual of Arms. Thus, "after his first attempt he just pronounced the first syllable and then one of us would pronounce the word so he could go on."

282.5 Psych. exam: Psychological exams given to all new conscripts, later criticized for testing only "the social milieu of the university-trained men who prepared the test than the background of the soldiers" (Coffman 61). Questions included "The Overland car is made in _____" and "Scrooge appears in _____." Meyer admits that although he got an "A" on his test, he did not know who Mary Pickford, a famous actress at the time, was. One can easily imagine that those who had but an eighth grade education (at best), and who remained in isolated communities apart from popular culture, would fair poorly on such an exam.

282.12 Questioned: Because Meyer was helping register new arrivals but was not in uniform, he was repeatedly questioned about how he could work for the military without wearing a uniform. Some soldiers wondered if they could have a job like his; Meyer's reply was that they needed to talk with their captain. He admitted that he believed himself "something of a peace propagandist," as he had to explain his conscientious objection over and over to the new arrivals.

282.15-16 All O.K. . . . why not?: Meyer had joined college educated conscripts to take the trade exam. The other soldiers objected to Meyer's testing in civilian clothes, implying that Meyer might not be "interested in getting the Kaiser" because he refused to wear the military uniform.

283.3 Captain Devers: Jacob Loucks Devers from York, Pennsylvania, was well aware of Mennonites and their beliefs, coming from a Mennonite

background himself. Meyer felt it "providential" to have Devers as his commanding officer because of Dever's consideration and kindness to objectors.

283.9 S.J. Bunting: Samuel Bunting, Director of the American Friends Service Committee in Philadelphia, PA.

283.10 Received . . . men: Apparently, this letter was from the Secretary of War Newton Baker, addressed personally to Meyer, who had written Baker prior to his conscription, pleading for assistance in obtaining a visa so Meyer could work in France. The letter from Baker contained the latest executive order on conscientious objectors, dispatched June 30, 1918. According to Meyer, the letter from Baker proved helpful, as Meyer was the only one who had the ruling, and officers borrowed it from him whenever necessary. He wrote "my impression is they had received the document but it was thought unimportant and got lost in the mountains of papers and orders that came to every commanding officer . . . my impression has grown that the officers developed respect for me because I was in touch with the highest officer in the army" ("Annotated" 7).

284.16 E.A.S.: Esther A. Steiner, who Meyer would marry in July, 1923.

285.23 Some . . . guard: According to Meyer, "some of the Quakers and others refused to work because a guard with a fixed bayonet always accompanied us when we left the company street. Some of us as new arrivals went under guard and ere long the guard no longer accompanied us" ("Annotated" 10).

286.6 Elmer, Clara 2 letters B.C. D.F. and Bunting: Elmer was Meyer's brother; Ben (B.C.) and David (D.F.) were brothers living in Wayland, Iowa; Clara was Meyer's sister, from Sterling, Ohio. The letter from Bunting

- informed Meyer that his passport had reached Friends Reconstruction Services Committee in Philadelphia.
- 286.9 death of: Christian Conrad fell victim to an accidental death while detained as a conscientious objector at Camp Dodge, Iowa.
- 287.1 surreptitiously: Meyer was called before his officers and asked if he knew anything of the letter or its writer; at the time, he did not. Apparently, an objector had smuggled a letter outside of camp and mailed it to Washington, D.C., without it having been censored. Meyer later believed a Quaker named Leonard Winslow had written from Camp Jackson to Washington demanding more rights for objectors, and that part of the offending letter was published in Rufus Jones's *A Service of Love in War Time* (1920). At any rate, the uncensored letter proved detrimental to the camp's objectors, who in Meyer's mind "lost some liberties" because of its mailing ("Objector" 84).
- 287.16 J.H. Conrads: Most likely a letter of consolation sent to the parents of Meyer's cousin, Christian Conrad.
- 287.25 *Russelites*: International Bible Students, followers of Charles Russell.
- 288.21 looking . . . Loucks: Although men in Meyer's camp were anxious for a visit from the Mennonite leader Aaron Loucks, he apparently never came to Camp Jackson. Meyer later said that Mennonite young men who were conscripted had been promised visits from Mennonite leaders, but such never occurred at his camps, a disappointment to him and his brethren.
- 289.20 exam: In his "Annotated Diary," Meyer relates that after the exam, an Amish man asked Meyer the answer to one of the questions: "What is the difference between a banana and an elephant?" The Amish man was intelligent, but could not read or write English well, and so could not

- decipher the difference between the two; because of this, he and other objectors facing similar difficulties were labeled as unintelligent.
- 291.5 Barnes: Roby L. Barnes, a Quaker objector from Fries, Virginia. He was later court-martialed and sentenced to Fort Leavenworth for twelve years, but was released on January 27, 1919. Meyer termed him "our low IQ man" ("Objector" 91).
- 291.25 Mr. Steel: A regular conscript from Tuscarawas County, Ohio, Steel wandered into the objectors' Bible study, not realizing he had entered a segregated part of the camp nor that his fellow worshipers were objectors. According to Meyer, "He seemed like an 'almost persuaded candidate.' At any rate, we did not think of casting him out of our kingdom. More ecumenicity!" ("Objector" 87)
- 293.4 class letter: The Goshen College "class of 1916" letter. Meyer was supposed to contribute to the letter, the first in his class to write from military camp; however, he did not know how best to do this when a censor might read it.
- 298.18 Legain: Simon Legain, a Quaker objector from Siloam, North Carolina. He was sentenced on September 26, 1919, and according to a listing of objectors at Leavenworth, received five years. Meyer's diary, however, puts Legain's sentence at ten years.
- 302.3 Paris: Located straight north of Greenville, South Carolina, then a small town that benefited greatly by its near location to Camp Sevier.
- 305.7 Lantz and Payson Miller: Friends of Meyer's from Goshen College, both Payson Miller and Russell Lantz were court-martialed at Camp Zachary Taylor, Kentucky, as objectors and each received ten year sentences to Fort Leavenworth; Meyer had just received notice of their imprisonment.

- 309.3-4 Sanitary . . . at once: Apparently, it was decided that sweeping grounds did little to prevent the rampant spread of influenza. Meyer believed sweeping the grounds was in fact detrimental to those who were ill with pulmonary disease, as it only stirred up dust and made the air more difficult to breathe.
- 310.26 F.B. Sayre's brother: John Nevin Sayre was Francis Bowes Sayre's brother. F.B. Sayre, the son-in-law of President Wilson, had been in Meyer's class at Harvard.
- 313.11-13 Kellogg . . . such a position: Meyer later wrote that Kellogg "doubted whether I could ever get a good position in later life" because of his conscientious objection to war ("Annotated" 25).
- 315.23-24 Lieut. Avery . . . company fund: Meyer believed officers wanted the objectors to place their payroll money in a company fund so that the officers could "get their hands on it" ("Objector" 90). He was able to convince other Mennonite and Amish objectors to resist making a company fund. Still, the men worried about what they should do with their pay, as Meyer admits in his diary. One Amish was concerned that if he sent his paycheck to Secretary of State Newton Baker, Baker would return it.
- 316.25-26 letter . . . furloughs: A copy of the letter from Loucks was also sent to Meyer, with a postscript saying Meyer could show the letter to other objectors, as Meyer's mail was not censored. However, Meyer later wrote, "I did no such thing for betraying confidence did not fit into my idea of conscientious objection" ("Objector" 91).
- 319.25 Uncle Albert: A bachelor who lived with Meyer's parents and helped care for them, he "seemed like a godsend for a penniless conscientious objector" ("Objector" 80).

- 319.26 L.E.B.: A friend from Goshen whose brother had died after being accidentally electrocuted.
- 324.10-11 He seemed . . . the issue: Bowser was probably one amongst a number of noncombatant Mennonites who came to see Meyer right after the Armistice, worried about how they would be received by their home congregations following their discharges. Meyer felt they had a right to be worried: one congregation had "disowned" a member who had accepted military service; other Mennonite noncombatants, Meyer wrote, received little support or direction from their home congregations, despite attempts by the noncombatants to "keep in touch" with their ministers ("Objector" 91).
- 362.25 As I see it . . . not satisfied: After discussions with Bowser, and after correspondence with several other young Mennonite men preparing to do reconstruction work, Meyer had reached the conclusion that the Mennonite Relief Commission was doing little, if any, important relief work. In a letter signed also by E.E. Miller, J.J. Fisher, and D.S. Gerig, Meyer proposed the development of "a form of an independent Mennonite relief work." Wrote Meyer, "the Mennonite church (should) develop and utilize the talent of its young men and women . . . in some form of positive service. Under no circumstances should the latter be excluded" ("Objector" 92).
- 330.20 laws conflict: Those conscientious objectors who evade the draft and do not report to camp when conscripted were classified differently than religious objectors and from those who have political but not religious objections to warfare.
- 331.6 we must . . . Taylor: An order from Washington stipulated that men who were farther than 350 miles from home would be channeled through camps closer to their home communities to alleviate the government's

burden of travel costs; thus, Ohio objectors at Camp Sevier were sent first to Camp Zachary Taylor, Kentucky, then discharged.

- 334.21-22 Schlabach . . . not going home: Because Monroe Schlabach had been ill and in the hospital when the Board of Inquiry was in camp, he did not receive a hearing. Until such could occur, Schlabach would not be discharged. He finally received a discharge in early 1919.
- 336.5 "bawled out": Meyer later wrote that "during much of this time the cold, weary soldiers--several hundred of them--who came with us vented their wrath on us. There was some danger of mob action" ("Annotated" 28).
- 338.12 Mine marked . . . about it.: Meyer believed that the constant questioning of conscientious objectors by the soldiers detained with them at Camp Zachary Taylor provided opening from them to explain their stance. "In general," he wrote, "our witness never seemed more effective among so many." Their witness was aided, too, by the abundance of good food they prepared for the soldiers, who themselves were "unwilling to work" because the "war was over." Because of their unwillingness, "not enough food was prepared for all [until the objectors began cooking], so men acted like beasts to get food which they were unwilling to help prepare." The objectors stepped in to help an overburdened mess sergeant, cooked more than enough food for the soldiers, and after this, their relationship to the regular conscripts changed. ("Annotated" 29)

CHAPTER SIX

AN ESSAY OF RESOURCES

Anyone making an inquiry into Mennonites and the Great War should certainly begin with the most recent, most comprehensive text on the subject, Gerlof Homan's 1994 *American Mennonites and the Great War, 1914-1918*. Homan offers a compelling narrative of the Mennonite experience during World War I, both in the Mennonites' home communities and in military camps. Two of the book's chapters address conscientious objectors' concerns exclusively, while other sections deal with the Mennonite response to war, the effects of nativism on Mennonites, and the difficulties Mennonites had in what type of monetary support they could conscientiously provide the war effort. Drawing on a vast array of written and oral first person accounts and a variety of government documents, Homan explains in detail the hardships and persecution endured by Mennonite objectors, highlighting as well the military's official and unofficial responses to objector concerns. Homan's notes and bibliography direct his readers to important primary and secondary resources. However, Homan sometimes buries crucial texts worthy a researcher's attention in labyrinthine end notes; researchers should thus spend extra time pouring over the bibliography and end notes for the great discoveries that may be hidden within them. At any rate, Homan's extensive legwork in Mennonite archives proves invaluable, supplying a comfortable jumping off point for anyone interested in American Mennonitism during World War One. In addition to his 1994 monograph, several other Homan works dealing directly with Mennonites and the First World War deserve additional note here. Both "Mennonites and Military Justice in World War I" (1992) and "Post-Armistice Courts-Martial of Conscientious Objectors in Camp Funston, Kansas, 1918-19" (1989) offer an intensified study of military justice for First World War Mennonite objectors, arguing convincingly that for objectors, such justice was rare.

At present, the only other comprehensive text solely addressing Mennonites and World War I is Jonas S. Hartzler's *Mennonites in the World War: Or Nonresistance Under Test.*,

published a scant few years after the war's conclusion, in 1921. Hartzler is afforded first-hand observation, a luxury obviously not available Homan. A member of the Old Mennonite Military Problems Committee, Hartzler includes in his text his own wartime experiences as well as those related to him by Mennonite objectors he met during the war and directly after. Unlike Homan, though, Hartzler must look at the war with a touch of astigmatism, having no real distance to consider the Mennonite response to war and its long-term influences on the larger church. As Homan notes in his introduction to *American Mennonites and the Great War*, Hartzler also did not have the material provided late twentieth-century researchers in the subject: a number of personal accounts written long after the war; periodical literature analyzing the Mennonite experience during the war; and access to comprehensive archival holdings rich with documents uncovered in years following the war. Reading Homan's and Hartzler's books in tandem thus proves useful, as one supplies the longer vision and the other an experiential yet scholarly observation of Mennonites and the Great War.

Noted Mennonite historian James Juhnke provides an excellent analysis of Mennonites during World War I in two texts dealing more broadly with Mennonites in turn-of-the-century America. His *A People of Two Kingdoms: The Political Acculturation of the Kansas Mennonites*, published in 1975, argues compellingly that "the war showed the Mennonites at their worst" (109), caught between trying to appease their government and America's citizens while also remaining true to their Anabaptist heritage. Juhnke asserts that attempting to become a "people of two kingdoms" compromised the Mennonites' commitment to the kingdom of Christ and of the state, and the supporting evidence he offers makes his assertion seem irrefutable. In 1989, Juhnke expanded his inquiry beyond Kansas Mennonites in *Vision, Doctrine, War: Mennonite Identity and Organization in America, 1890-1930*. Juhnke's later text outlines the various Mennonite strands emerging in fin de siecle America and their ethnic origins in the old country; defines Mennonite culture in early twentieth-century America; relates the ways varied Mennonites strands addressed World War I concerns; and explores the effects of the Great War on the twentieth-century Mennonite church. Juhnke's treatment of Mennonitism and the First

World War in both texts is forthright and balanced; he readily points out flaws in the Mennonite polity and in the church's thinking during the war while also, when necessary, criticizing government policies which adversely affected Mennonites and conscientious objectors.

Drawing heavily on Juhnke's thesis in *A People of Two Kingdoms*, Susan Schultz Huxman explores the ways Mennonite wartime rhetoric attempted to appease both country and God in her 1987 doctoral dissertation *In the World, But Not of It: Mennonite Rhetoric as an Enactment of Paradox*. Huxman analyzes the rhetorical strategies employed by writers in five Mennonite periodicals from the era, and argues that each periodical shows a keen attention to the Anabaptist history of nonresistance and suffering love, while at the same time betraying the Mennonites' longing to be good American patriots. Although in some ways only an echo of Juhnke's earlier work, Huxman's dissection of Mennonite wartime periodicals remains insightful and useful in understanding more fully the Mennonite cultural climate at the time.

Beyond the texts mentioned above, scholarship about Mennonites in World War One is scattered, appearing as brief chapters in books about Mennonite history or about nonresistance and as footnotes in texts addressing America at war and American objection to war. Yet, even if they offer only the smallest bit of information pertaining to Mennonites and the Great War, many of these works, when read in the context of one another, give a more complete picture of the Mennonite experience during World War I, enhancing and amplifying what Homan, Hartzler, Juhnke, and Huxman have written.

Although the subject of Mennonites during the First World War is rightfully considered in most Mennonite history books written after that era, two texts about the Mennonites' historical peacemaking prove especially helpful. Guy Hershberger, at one time a professor at Goshen College and still today a well-respected academic among Mennonites, put the Mennonites' peacemaking into a biblical and historical context in his 1944 *War, Peace, and Nonresistance*. An immanently readable book, *War, Peace, and Nonresistance* well notes how Mennonites responded to each American war, including the First World War. Hershberger's discussion of the Old and New Testament exhortation to make peace is especially useful, for it illuminates how

great a biblical foundation is the Mennonite impulse towards nonresistance. In 1994, at the fiftieth year anniversary of Hershberger's publication, Leo Driedger and Donald Kraybill published what is in many ways an extension of Hershberger's work, something they note in their own preface. Driedger and Kraybill's *Mennonite Peacemaking: From Quietism to Activism* explores briefly the Mennonites' historical response to war before considering Mennonite peacemaking in the latter part of the twentieth century. In doing so, Driedger and Kraybill cover ground Hershberger could not in his earlier tome, extending the story of Mennonite Great War objectors by showing how the objectors' own tribulations influenced government/objector relationships in later United States conflicts.

Readers wanting a broader study of conscientious objection during the First World War have at their disposal several excellent works. Foremost among these is probably H.C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite's *Opponents of War: 1917-1918*, published in 1957 and reprinted in 1986. Peterson and Fite's exploration of the cultural climate in World War I America is excellent; the authors show how high the costs of opposition was during that war, and at what lengths Americans were punished for opposing the war on religious, ethnic, economic, and political grounds. The text deals at some length with conscientious objectors drafted into the army and their experiences, offering certain proof that objectors were mistreated at several military cantonments, and that the government turned its head while the mistreatment occurred; of additional importance are the opinions of others--from political leaders to village idiots--about objectors. Readers will leave *Opponents of War* amazed at the intensity of wartime nativism and its varied effects on the American populace.

Norman Thomas, a socialist and a prominent pacifist during the war, published in 1925 a comprehensive study of World War I America's conscientious objector problem. Although stymied as Hartzler by his close proximity to and involvement in the war, Thomas's *The Conscientious Objector in America* offers a reasoned analysis of America's governmental response to the war while also providing insight into the objector's psyche while detained. Thomas's own biases as an objector remain clear throughout the text, and readers should be

aware that his inclinations will obviously influence what the writer has to say about objectors and their plight. For Thomas, the government clearly did not handle objector "problems" correctly; in his mind, objectors were wounded psychologically as well as physically by the abuses they received.

Readers will no doubt find Major Walter Guest Kellogg's *The Conscientious Objector*, published in 1919, a corrective to Thomas's biases. Kellogg centers his own analysis of Great War objector concerns on his experiences and observations as a member of the Board of Inquiry, on which he served from August 1918 until the war's conclusion. Although in appearance an objective study of Great War American objectors, Kellogg's prejudices nonetheless leak through, as he shows little patience for objectors, many deemed by him to be unintelligent and unworthy an American citizenship. The major asset of Kellogg's text is its inclusion of wartime executive orders relating to objectors, each which maps out the official governmental response to the conscientious objectors they had detained. Additionally, Kellogg voices the military's convictions about objectors, revealing all-too-clearly how deep military resentment towards objectors really was.

His view, unique among texts written about conscientious objectors, is shared by another Board of Inquiry member, Harlan F. Stone, who wrote about "The Conscientious Objector" in the October, 1919, issue of the *Columbia University Quarterly*. Like Kellogg, Stone has little appreciation or sympathy for objectors, believing them to be "bovine-faced" and "stolid." The failure of his journal article, and Kellogg's book, is that Stone becomes nearly blinded by his antipathy for objectors, compelling him to make sweeping generalizations which, in some cases, prove untrue. For example, both Stone's and Kellogg's assessment that Mennonite objectors were "intellectually inferior" is not borne out, as Mark A. May's research shows. May, in the October 1920 issue of *The American Journal of Psychology*, uses the psychological tests given to conscientious objectors to prove that most, including Mennonites, were highly intelligent, and scored better on exams than did most other conscripts and many other officers. Thus his essay, "The Psychological Exams of Conscientious Objectors," offers a useful and objective antidote to

assertions made by Stone and Kellogg, especially as he has governmental data to support his claims.

Although not dealing solely with the First World War, one other text deserves note because of its ability to place Great War conscientious objection in a larger context. Stephen Kohn situates the First World War objectors within a much greater history of American opposition to war in his 1986 *Jailed for Peace: The History of American Draft Law Violators, 1658-1984*. Kohn asserts that while earlier wars had their conscientious objectors and draft law violators, the Great War represented a shift in how the government handled the draft, how objectors responded to conscription, and how the government then treated its objectors. As his title to the chapter on World War I asserts, then, the Great War marked the "Birth of the Modern Movement" in the institution of and the opposition to universal conscription.

Other histories of Americans and the First World War are legion, though most expend only a small amount of space, if any space, on wartime opposition. Several texts, however, stand out because they supply a comprehensive portrait of the country's cultural milieu at the time, and address at some lengths the adverse effects of nativism on America's populace. Foremost among these is David Kennedy's *Over Here: The First World War and American Society*, published by Oxford in 1980. Well-written and insightful, Kennedy's text gains credibility because of the vast amounts of primary sources he consults in constructing his narrative of America at war; readers are given panoramic view to President Wilson's meticulous decision making, the diatribes of lower-level cabinet members hungry for power, the machinations of military officials hastily creating an army. Although Kennedy strains towards objectivity in his book, he at times betrays his own horror of the mob and the violence unleashed on wartime objectors. This should not be considered a criticism of his work, for Kennedy's own emphasis on the appalling manifestations of nativistic ardor brings America's wartime culture into even sharper focus.

Less academic than Kennedy but equally interesting is Meirion and Susie Harries's 1997 *The Last Days of Innocence: Americans at War 1917-1918*. Although the Harries deal at greater length than Kennedy does with mobilization and with the Western Front they, like Kennedy,

draw a compelling picture of American wartime culture. Chapters on wartime propaganda are especially useful, as they show to what extent the government itself discouraged dissent and fomented mob behavior. In similar vein, Byron Farwell's newer *Over There: The United States in The Great War, 1917-1918*, published in 1999, expends space on American battlefield tactics while also tackling the country's battles on the home front: with objectors, with minorities, and with those unwilling to sacrifice money and food to the war effort.

Although not specifically a history of America and the Great War, one other text merits especial recognition because it offers so well a perspective of American culture during the Great War. In his 1933 monograph *Preachers Present Arms*, Ray Abrams studies the sermons spoken in America's pulpits during the war, as well as articles printed in Christian periodicals. Abrams finds that religious leaders at the time were overwhelmingly in support of the war, which they predominantly believed was a holy battle between Christ's Allied forces and the Anti-Christ Kaiser. Pastors used their pulpits to spread wartime propaganda, appealing to the spiritual goodness of their members and compelling congregants to buy war bonds as tithe offerings. As a result, Abrams argues, churches who opposed the war were ostracized from ecumenical communities and were demonized. Mennonites, of course, were among those who became demons.

Finally, those wanting an overview of the First World War will have at their disposal a vast array of books, from those written shortly after the war's conclusion to those published in the last year. While Martin Gilbert's *The First World War: A Complete History* and John Keegan's *The First World War* informed my own understanding of the war and its complexities, I imagine that other texts will serve other scholars just as well. Indeed, because both Keegan and Gilbert see the war through British lenses, their work may, fairly or unfairly, seem disproportionate to American readers. Those wanting an overview without the costs of wading through thick volumes of military history might do better viewing the Public Broadcasting System's tremendous video series, *The Great War and the Shaping of the Twentieth Century*, first broadcast in 1996. Using film footage from the war, memoirs of its participants, and art created

in its aftermath, the PBS series offers a sobering image of the Great War, the immense and devastating loss suffered by so many, and the war's irreparable damage to the twentieth-century psyche. Although PBS spends little to no time on conscientious objection to war, viewers will no doubt conclude that, at least in the case of the Great War, objection might well have been merited.

The resources enumerated here provide direction, of course, only for the beginning of a research journey into the Great War, into Mennonitism, into the clash of war and faith in 1917-18. The best side trip scholars could take on this journey is to one of several Mennonite archives, most notably the Mennonite Library and Archives in North Newton, Kansas, or the Archives of the Mennonite Church in Goshen, Indiana. Documents at both institutions are readily available for perusal. A day spent scanning through old stacks of the *Gospel Herald* or *The Mennonite* will supply more information on Mennonites and the Great War than most other resources ever could; reading first-hand accounts written by Mennonite objectors or listening to several interviews in the Showalter Oral History Collection of World War I objectors gives voice and energy to experiences only hinted at in history books. Alas, the luxury of delving into archives is not often available even the most earnest scholar. Still, those interested in Mennonites and the Great War may find that the books mentioned above do little to whet their appetite for information. For any such scholars, satiation will come only after a long drive through the flat prairie of Kansas or the Amish land of Northern Indiana, to Mennonite archives teeming with primary documents about history's first modern war, and about a people who refused to take part.

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